The Journal of Historical Review

Volume 18, Number 5/6 September/December 1999

Opportunity and Challenge in a New Era

How the Wiesenthal Center Falsifies History

Fraud Exposed in German Exhibition
Mark Weber

The Auschwitz I 'Gas Chamber'
Robert Faurisson

Zionist Myths about Palestine
Roger Garaudy

13th IHR Conference Scheduled

David Irving in London Court Battle

The Party in the Third Reich
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— Review —

Fred Leuchter in 'Mr. Death'
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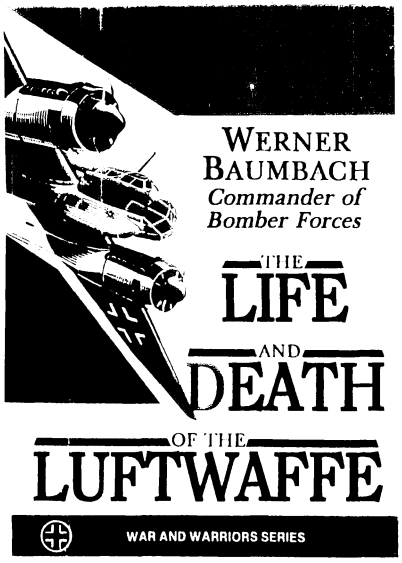
— And More —

A Stirring Narrative of Combat

An Inside Account of the Triumph and Tragedy of the Third Reich's Air Force

The Life and Death of the Luftwaffe tells the riveting story of the meteoritic rise and calamitous fall of one of history's great air forces, as told by one of its most decorated and honored officers, Colonel Werner Baumbach.

A combat pilot who braved enemy fighters and anti-aircraft fire to strike at targets in virtually every European theater of the Second World War, Baumbach was also such a superb organizer and keen strategist that he was appointed, at the age of 28, chief of the Luftwaffe's bomber command.



All of the Luftwaffe's celebrated campaigns are here: the blitzkriegs against Poland, France and the Low Countries; the Battle of Britain; the massive invasion of Soviet Russia and the hard-fought retreat; the air wars over the Atlantic, the Arctic, and the Mediterranean; and the desperate defense of the Reich against merciless attack by British and American bombers.

Baumbach was one of the most successful fighter pilots of the Second World War, and the first to earn the coveted Knight's Cross of the Iron Cross with Oak Leaves and Swords. He was also a major figure in the fateful decision-making that shaped Germany's desperate struggle against the combined Allied forces. He played a key role in reorganizing the Luftwaffe's bomber arm.

In addition to memorable descriptions of dangerous combat missions, in this memoir he gives a frank and often critical inside account of Germany's air war. He provides an inside look at the heated disputes among the Reich's top military figures over strategy and tactics, with first-hand assessments of Hitler, Göring, Goebbels, Speer and other high-ranking Third Reich officials.

Baumbach played an important role in the development of Germany's "wonder weapons," some of which he tested himself. Here he tells of German jet fighters, guided missles, the V-1 "buzz bomb," the V-2 rocket, and other path-breaking armaments that laid the basis for and modern air war and space exploration.

He provides fascinating details of German plans for amazing new weapons and tactics, including trans-Atlantic air raids against New York City and the Panama Canal, the training of Kamikaze-style suicide pilots, and a plan for piggy-backing fighters and unmanned bombers to strike at distant targets.

After the war Baumbach barely escaped trial as a "war criminal," even as British newspapers were calling him "the German Lawrence of the Second World War."

Essential reading for anyone interested in the German Luftwaffe and World War II.

The Life and Death of the Luftwaffe

by Werner Baumbach
Translated by Frederick Holt
Hardcover. 220 pp. Dust Jacket. Photos. Appendix. Index. (0166)
$12.95 plus shipping ($2.50 domestic, $3.50 foreign)
California residents must add $1.00 sales tax
Institute for Historical Review
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Volume 18, Number 5/6 September / December 1999

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On the Cover: Fred Leuchter addresses the Tenth IHR Conference, October 1990, in Washington, DC.

The Journal of Historical Review (ISSN: 0195-6752) began publication in 1980. It upholds and continues the tradition of Historical Revisionism of scholars such as Harry Elmer Barnes, A.J.P. Taylor, William H. Chamberlin, Paul Rassinier and Charles Tansill. *The Journal of Historical Review* is published six times yearly by the **Institute for Historical Review,** P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659. Subscription price: $40 per year, $65 for two years, and $90 for three years. For foreign subscriptions, add $10 per year. For overseas airmail delivery, add $30 per year. Remittances for subscriptions must be payable in US dollars drawable on a US bank. Donations to the IHR are tax-deductible.

Single copies of most *Journal* issues published since Spring 1986 (Volume 7) are available for $7.50 each, plus $2.00 shipping. Ask about the availability of specific issues. Hardbound annual volumes of the *Journal* for the years 1984, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, and 1993 are also available for $40.00 each, plus $3.50 shipping. Write for our booklist and prices.

Appropriate manuscripts are welcomed by the Editor. They should be double-spaced and accompanied by return postage. Especially welcome are submissions on diskette. Send all correspondence to **P.O. Box 2739, Newport Beach, CA 92659**. E-mail to: ihr@ihr.org. Web site: http://www.ihr.org.

The Journal of Historical Review is listed in standard periodical directories. Contributions do not necessarily reflect the views of the Institute for Historical Review.

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From the Editor

Opportunity and Challenge in a New Era

With the dawning of a new century, Holocaust revisionism is making headlines everywhere. Around the globe there is real ferment, a new surge of media attention on Holocaust skepticism, and growing criticism of the oppressive impact of the powerful "Holocaust industry."

"Holocaust deniers" are, of course, still widely portrayed as misguided or malevolent. But we are seeing more and more "mainstream" concessions to historical truth, and open acknowledgment of "Holocaust" manipulation and exploitation. More than ever, the iconic facade seems to be cracking.

In late December, a much-discussed documentary film about American gas chamber expert Fred Leuchter was released for public showing, to the accompaniment of commentary in nearly every major American daily paper. (In 1988 Leuchter carried out a forensic examination of the alleged homicidal gas chambers at Auschwitz and Birkenau, and concluded that they were never used to kill people as alleged.) The film "Mr. Death" attempts, of course, to discredit Leuchter's findings; it portrays him as both arrogant and self-deluded; it completely ignores the investigations and studies of other specialists that impressively corroborate the results of his on-site investigation. The director Errol Morris portrays as quite natural and unexceptional the outrageous campaign that destroyed Leuchter's career as the country's foremost execution hardware specialist, and even presents without criticism the hateful comments of two of the perpetrators. (Greg Raven's review of "Mr. Death" appears in this *Journal* issue.)

But on balance, the film has the merit of focusing renewed public attention on the Holocaust debate, prompting at least a few independent observers to say the unsayable. Film critic Godfrey Cheshire, for one, in the weekly *New York Press*, told readers that "'Mr. Death' is the closest thing we're likely to get to a film that questions Holocaustolatry, a mild form of which is now firmly established as part of our official culture." The Holocaust, Cheshire went on, has become a "myth" of "supernatural character," and "an untouchable, quasi-religious event fraught with a Significance quite beyond anything that mere history might support."

Another indicator of the changing climate is a recent front-page *Los Angeles Times* article, "Danger in Denying Holocaust?" For the first time ever, a major American daily newspaper highlighted the fact that in France, Germany, and some other European countries, scholars are jailed, fined and forced into exile for questioning government-ordained Holocaust history.

Written by veteran journalist Kim Murphy, the lengthy January 7 piece begins by citing the persecution of a young German chemist, Germar Rudolf, for concluding — on the basis of a detailed on-site forensic examination — that no one was killed, or could have been killed, in the alleged homicidal gas chambers of Auschwitz and Birkenau. As the article goes on to note, this doctoral candidate at Stuttgart University lost his job at the respected Max Planck Institute, saw his doctoral degree put on hold, was sentenced to 14 months in prison, and finally was forced into exile — all because of his carefully considered evaluation of Holocaust "gas chamber" claims.

More than a few readers of the *Times* article must certainly wonder: Just what kind of "historical truth" is it that must be protected by the armor plate of police, lawsuits, fines and imprisonment? Because the report suggests that revisionists might at least have a point about the issue of academic freedom, the Jewish lobby lost no time in furiously attacking both the *Times* and Murphy for this "immoral" article.

Even more important in terms of public awareness is something that happened in London on January 11. On that day began the libel trial brought by British historian David Irving against American Jewish activist Deborah Lipstadt. In his opening statement to the court (reprinted elsewhere in this *Journal* issue), Irving charges that Lipstadt and her British publisher severely damaged his reputation and career through her book, *Denying the Holocaust*, a strident work that also attacks professors Robert Faurisson and Arthur Butz, revisionist activist Bradley Smith, and the Institute for Historical Review.

Further complicating this already complex case, authorities in Germany announced shortly after the trial began that they would try to extradite Irving to that country on the basis of a fine imposed on him by a German court for having told a meeting in Munich in 1990 that the "gas chamber" at

Auschwitz, shown to hundreds of thousands of tourists yearly, is a postwar dummy. Amazingly, one of the witnesses for Lipstadt in the London trial, Robert-Jan van Pelt, has acknowledged the truth of precisely this point in his detailed 1996 study of Auschwitz. (For more on this, see "The 'Gas Chamber' of Auschwitz I" in this *Journal* issue.)

Irving, a literal and figurative David, faces a Goliath. Day after day he sits alone on one side of the courtroom; arrayed against him sits a legal team of some 20 lawyers and para-legal specialists (not to mention the phalanx of support staff posted outside the courtroom). Each day he walks alone into the court house, carrying his own books and documents.

Win or lose, Irving is a marked man, a pariah — more than ever, a target of his enemies' implacable hatred. Independent observers marvel at his unflagging confidence and verbal skill in the courtroom. But even an Atlas would falter under the great emotional and psychological burden of this ordeal — especially because so much of the court battle focuses on a field of history that, as Irving concedes, "is not my patch."

Whatever the outcome, and whatever wavering or waffling the strain of battle might occasion, Irving is performing a great public service by heightening public awareness of the international debate on this much abused chapter of history.

In a recent essay about the trial published in a major British daily, a prominent Jewish Holocaust historian, David Cesarani, writes with concern about what he calls "the growing backlash against the so-called 'Holocaust industry'." He cites as evidence the new book by Jewish-American writer Peter Novick, *The Holocaust in American Life*, and a forthcoming book, *The Holocaust Industry*, by another Jewish scholar, Norman Finkelstein. This "intellectual backlash," Cesarani continues, "is taking hold in mainstream and media circles."

Perhaps the most remarkable fallout thus far from the Irving-Lipstadt case is "The Holocaust on Trial," a front-cover feature article in the current *Atlantic Monthly* (Feb. 2000), written by London-based American-Jewish writer D. D. Guttenplan. This 19-page essay begins by conceding that "political calculation" has "influenced our knowledge of the Holocaust from the very beginning," and that "what everybody knows about the Holocaust isn't always true" — a point that this *Journal* has been making for 20 years.

Guttenplan notes that no one was ever gassed at Dachau and Belsen, but says nothing about the far-reaching implications of such concessions. Though he implicitly acknowledges that a mass of historical "evidence," including court judgments and many "eyewitness testimonies," is worthless, he can neither acknowledge nor publicly regret that men were put to death on the basis of such bogus "evidence."

"Though it is considered impolite to mention them in public," Guttenplan writes, "there are still a number of 'live questions' about the Holocaust," among them the "delicate ... question of survivor testimony." Much of this "testimony," he acknowledges, is just plain wrong.

Particularly eyebrow-raising is what Guttenplan tells readers of this leading intellectual/literary magazine about the decades-long efforts by organized Jewry to suppress historical scholarship, even by Jewish academics. As a result of such efforts, "certain aspects of the Holocaust and its aftermath... became not just controversial but unmentionable."

As long ago as the early 1960s, Guttenplan shows, Jewish historian Raul Hilberg was accused of "impiety" and "defaming the dead" in the pages of *Commentary*, the American Jewish Committee monthly, because he had taken note of the extent to which wartime German authorities relied on Jews to assist in the "final solution." Officials at Yad Vashem, Israel's central Holocaust memorial center, even refused Hilberg access to their archives.

Also in the 1960s, Jewish historian Barbara Tuchman attacked Hannah Arendt for her much-discussed book, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*, accusing the German-born Jewish intellectual of "a conscious desire to support Eichmann's defense." The Anti-Defamation League similarly condemned Arendt's "evil book," hurling charges at her that, as Guttenplan notes, were "not just false but the reverse of the truth."

Another Jewish historian, Princeton professor Arno Mayer, was, in Guttenplan's words, "practically excommunicated" by organized Jewry for concluding, in his 1989 work on the "final solution," that Hitler was far more concerned with annihilating Communism than he was with decimating Jews. "It isn't only Holocaust deniers who twist facts, obscure the truth and, in Deborah Lipstadt's phrase, create 'immoral equivalencies'," writes Guttenplan. "... Time and time again those who insist on the truth in all its 'complex, unsentimental,' paradoxical, and ambiguous detail are shouted down."

Another indication of the general worldwide trend is a column about the London trial in the weekly *New York Press* (Jan. 18). "Irving is right to be upset that an influential minority with a political agenda succeeded in destroying his career," comments George Szamuely.

(Continued on page 5)

How the Simon Wiesenthal Center Falsifies History

Photographic Fraud by a Major Holocaust Organization

A doctored wartime photograph of the Auschwitz-Birkenau camp displayed by the Simon Wiesenthal Center on its "educational" web site is a good example of how the influential Holocaust organization falsifies history.

The Center posts the photograph on its "Multimedia Learning Center Online" web site under the heading "Photo Gallery: Hungarian arrivals after the 'Selektion' at Auschwitz" (http://motlc.wiesenthal.com/gallery/pg22/pg0/pg22035.html). Dated "June 0, 1944," the photo is captioned: "As these prisoners were being processed for slave labor, many of their friends were being gassed and burned in the ovens in the crematoria. The smoke can be seen in the background."

The photograph has been altered by adding phony "smoke" to the background, apparently to support survivor testimony about smoke billowing from Birkenau crematory chimneys. The fraud is obvious with a glance at the original photo, which is published in *The Auschwitz Album* (New York: Random House, 1981), page 126 (photo No. 143).

The 185 photos of Auschwitz-Birkenau camp in this album appear to have been taken by German SS camp officials in 1944 — that is, during the supposed high point of the alleged extermination program there. The original album was confiscated by a Jewish inmate, Lili Jacob Meier, who brought it to the United States after the war.

In none of the album's many photos — several of which show Birkenau crematory facilities — can one see any trace of smoke. Similarly, there is no

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Museum of Tolerance ONLINE
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Photo Gallery
Hungarian arrivals after the "Selektion" at Auschwitz
As these prisoners were being processed for slave labor, many of their friends and families were being gassed and burned in the ovens in the crematoria. The smoke can be seen in the background.
Date: June 0, 1944 Era: During WWII
[Index to Topics] [Home] [The Jews] [The Nazis] [World War II] [Antisemitism & The Final Solution] [Resistance & Rescue] [The World Response] [Righteous Among the Nations] [After the War]
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The original photo, from *The Auschwitz Album* (1981), shows no trace of smoke.

trace of crematory smoke in any of the Allied aerial reconnaissance photos taken of Auschwitz and Birkenau on random days in 1944. Cremation specialists affirm that crematories do not produce visible smoke. In short, the available evidence does not support the "billowing smoke" claims of many former inmates.

The Simon Wiesenthal Center, based in Los Angeles, is one of the world's foremost Holocaust organizations, as well as a major Jewish-Zionist pressure group. Reflecting its considerable media influence and political clout, accommodating lawmakers have diverted at least $10 million in taxpayer funds to the Center. The Center claims more than 350,000 dues-paying members, each of whom receives its glossy magazine, *Response*. Over the years the Center has repeatedly attacked the Institute for Historical Review.

In 1991 its *Response* magazine broadcast the outrageous lie that Iraq was killing Iranian prisoners of war "in gas chambers specially designed for the Iraqis" by a German firm, using German-manufactured Zyklon B gas.

(This doctored "smoking chimney" photograph was brought to our attention by Canadian geologist and aerial photo specialist John Ball, who reported on this on his web site: http://www.air-photo.com/english/1999_mark.html Author of The Ball Report, he also addressed the 1994 IHR Conference.

For more about the Wiesenthal Center, see the detailed report in the July-August 1995 Journal, pp. 2-7. For information about the well-known personality for whom the Center is named, see "Simon Wiesenthal: Fraudulent 'Nazi Hunter'," July-August 1995 *Journal*, pp. 8-16.)

From the Editor

(continued from page 3)

After pointing out that the epithet "Holocaust denier" is an elastic one, the columnist writes:

> In *Denying the Holocaust*, Lipstadt wrote that Pat Buchanan's "attacks on the credibility of the survivor testimony are standard elements of Holocaust denial." Yet, a few years ago [August 1986] the director of Yad Vashem's archive [Shmuel Krakowski] told a reporter that most of the 20,000 testimonies it had collected were unreliable: "Many were never in the places where they claim to have witnessed atrocities, while others relied on secondhand information given them by friends or passing strangers." Is he also then a "Holocaust denier"?

"We now know," Szamuely continues, "that many of the most lurid stories of the Holocaust are not true ... Whether Irving wins or loses his libel case, we will probably find out that our current knowledge of the Holocaust is much flimsier than we had believed."

Here at the IHR, we are generally pleased with the overall trend and guardedly optimistic about the future. To be sure, we still face powerful enemies who, to paraphrase Guttenplan, are determined to "shout down" those who insist on the truth. At the same time, our adversaries are slowly but inexorably being forced to make ever more grudging concessions to truth.

With a recently expanded staff, we're working hard to bring new books into print, prepare for the next full-scale IHR Conference (May 27-29 in southern California), and get the *Journal* back on schedule (which is why this issue is a combined one). Through greater and more solid awareness of the past, we're doing our best to build a better future for us all.

— *January 24, 2000*

Thanks

We've stirred up things a lot since the first issue of the *Journal of Historical Review* came out in the spring of 1980 — 20 years ago. Without the staunch support of you, our subscribers, it couldn't have survived. So please keep sending those clippings, the helpful and critical comments on our work, the informative articles, and the extra boost over and above the subscription price. It's our life blood. To everyone who has helped keep the Journal alive, our sincerest thanks.

Fraud Exposed in Defamatory German Exhibition

Photo Exhibit of German Army Atrocities Shut Down

Mark Weber

A highly publicized German exhibition of atrocities allegedly carried out by regular German army forces during the Second World War has been closed down in the wake of revelations that many of the harrowing photographs it displayed are deceitful. The organizers of "War of Annihilation: Crimes of the German Armed Forces, 1941-1944," announced the shutdown on November 5, 1999, after ever more evidence had come to light proving that much of the controversial exhibit is fraudulent.

Since 1995 hundreds of thousands of visitors had viewed the exhibition, which appeared in more than 30 German and Austrian cities. Numerous secondary school classes were guided through it. Many of Germany's most prominent social, political and business personalities endorsed the exhibit, which was designed to prove that regular German army (Wehrmacht) troops, and not just SS soldiers, carried out "Holocaust" killings of Jews and others.

"The Wehrmacht exhibition," declared a leading Socialist party (SPD) politician in the German parliament, "is an important contribution to enlightenment. It gives a voice to the victims and, hopefully, to our consciences as well." To applause from the entire body, a representative of the "moderate" CDU party declared: "I ask that such an exhibition about crimes committed by the German army be accepted with humility, in the spirit of the words of Ignatius, who said: truth against ourselves, that is humility."

Most of the approximately 800 photographs in the exhibition are from Soviet-era Russian sources. More than half of the total are non-incriminating, while most of the 34 photos proven to be fraudulent or misrepresented actually show victims of the Soviets, and of other non-German forces. Exhibition organizer Hannes Herr also admitted that some of the photographs had been retouched. In some instances, photos taken from different angles of the same event or scene were displayed at different places in the exhibition with captions telling viewers that they showed atrocities at different locations. Also presented in the exhibition were documents that included phony confessions by Germans that had been extracted under torture from Soviets.

The shutdown postponed indefinitely the scheduled debut of an English-language version of the exhibition in New York City. Organizers announced their intention to re-open the exhibition after re-checking each of the hundreds of photographs.

A Polish Historian Speaks Out

A few "right-wing" German periodicals — including the weekly *National-Zeitung* and the quarterly journal *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* — established early on that at least some of the photos in the anti-Wehrmacht exhibition were deceitful. Many examples of such deceit were also cited in a book published in 1999 by the FZ-Verlag of Munich: *Bilder, die Fälschen: Dubiose "Dokumente" zur Zeitgeschichte* ("Pictures that Falsify: Dubious 'Documents' of Contemporary History").

Bogdán Musial

However, it was only after two non-German scholars — one Polish and one Hungarian — incontestably identified misrepresentation and deceit among the exhibit photographs that "establishment" Germans felt emboldened to voice criticisms. Prof. Hans Moeller, for one, director of the Institute for Contemporary History in Munich, acknowledged that the exhibition was full of errors, adding that it would be irresponsible to show it in the United States.

Especially important in this process was the role of Bogdán Musial, a youthful Polish historian who works at the German Historical Institute in Warsaw. In an article published in the prestigious Munich historical quarterly, *Vierteljahreshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, he established that some of the exhibit's most gruesome photographs — allegedly depicting German army killings of Jews — in reality showed victims of mass killings by the Soviet security police (NKVD).

Just after the German invasion of the USSR in June 1941, Soviet authorities summarily shot many thousands of political prisoners, hastily burying their bodies in shallow graves or dumping them down well shafts. As Musial put it: "Beria's order [by Stalin's secret police chief Lavrenti Beria] was clear: no 'mortal enemy of Communism' should be freed by the Germans. Tens of thousands were liquidated by shots to the back of the neck or by beatings with sledge hammers. In some cases, the murderers threw hand grenades among the hapless victims,

who had been herded together into prison courtyards ... The perpetrators literally waded in blood ..." In the town of Lutsk, for example, the Soviets killed about 2,000 people.

"... Before their flight from [the western Ukraine city of] Lviv [Lvov] in late June 1941," wrote Musial, "the Soviets murdered some 3,000 to 4,000 prison inmates, most of them in the Brygidki prison. The victims were Ukrainians, Poles and Jews, as well as Soviet and even captured German soldiers." After the Soviet withdrawal, Lviv residents went to the city's main prison to search for missing relatives. "In the prison cellars," relates Dr. Musial, "they saw layers upon layers of corpses ... In the prison courtyard they found two mass graves."

After Soviet forces fled from Lviv, the people of this ethnically mixed city took bloody revenge on the Jews (who generally had been ardent supporters of the Soviet regime). Many perished in this outburst of murderous rage. "There is, however, no indication that this pogrom was provoked by the Germans," Musial notes.

What happened in the western Ukrainian town of Zloczów (Galicia) was typical of many others in the region. Following the Red Army takeover in late 1939, Soviet authorities arrested hundreds of "enemies of the people" there and deported them to Siberia and Kazakhstan. Then, in late June 1941, in the face of advancing German forces, Soviet security forces hastily rounded up 700 more allegedly anti-Soviet Zloczów inhabitants, and killed them over a five-day period with shots to the back of the neck. After German forces drove out the Red Army on July 1, 1941, they cooperated in digging up the mass graves of the victims.

These two Wehrmacht crimes exhibition photographs purport to show German soldiers standing amid the bodies of Jews they had killed. In fact, these victims — most of them Ukrainians — had been killed in the town of Zloczów (Galicia) in late June 1941 by Soviet security police. The bodies were disinterred after German forces drove out the Soviets.

In some places in this region, Musial notes, the Germans arrived just in time to rescue people who were about to be killed. "Altogether some 13,000 prisoners were liberated by the Germans."

Musial compares the "Wehrmacht crimes" exhibit to the propaganda of the Communist regime in Poland. "The strength of this exhibition," he has said, "lies in the weakness of its critics."

As Musial explains, photographs of unearthed mass graves of Ukrainians and Poles killed by the Soviets were found by Red Army troops on the bodies of German soldiers who had fallen on the eastern front. These included some taken at Zloczów by a junior officer, Richard Worbs, who fell in 1944. Soviet authorities publicized such photographs as evidence of German atrocities. These same photos, with their deceitful misrepresentations, were acquired by the organizers of the German Wehrmacht crimes exhibition for display to hundreds of thousands of credulous viewers.

In one exhibition photo, Musial explains, the corpses shown were actually Ukrainians who had been killed by the Soviet security police in Borislav (in Galicia, western Ukraine). The German soldiers

"Wehrmacht crimes" exhibition organizers Bernd Boll (left) and Hannes Herr (right), at its opening in the Kiel regional parliament in January 1999, with parliament president Heinz-Werner Arens in the middle.

seen in the photograph had helped unearth the bodies for identification. Another exhibition picture allegedly shows victims of a German massacre in Kraljevo (Serbia) in October 1941. In fact, the victims were Ukrainians and Poles killed by the Soviet NKVD in late June 1941 in a Lviv prison courtyard. "The victims were Ukrainians, Poles, Jews, Russians and German prisoners of war," said Dr. Musial.

Among other apparently damning exhibition photos are some that show German soldiers standing among corpses "at a pogrom in Tarnopol." In this case as well, the bodies are actually those of Ukrainian and Polish victims of the Soviet NKVD, which had been unearthed after the area came under German occupation.

"It is known that the regular German army carried out crimes," Musial said in an interview. "It is impossible that among a million soldiers, and above all in the circumstances of that war, there would not have been crimes. But there were also countless decent soldiers."

When Dr. Musial first made public his criticisms, the Wehrmacht exhibition organizers sought to silence him with a lawsuit and to discredit him with a smear campaign.

A Bold Hungarian Historian

Along with Musial, Hungarian historian Krisztián Ungváry played a major role in discrediting the "Wehrmacht crimes" exhibition. The 31-year-old Budapest scholar, who was named "military historian of the year" in 1998 by the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, identified additional misrepresentations in a scholarly article.

In an interview with a Berlin newspaper, Ungváry spoke of "false photographs" and "false attributions." He said that "90 percent of the exhibition must be altered." Perhaps ten percent of the exhibition's pictures showed German atrocities, he estimated, while another ten percent showed atrocities by Ukrainians, Finns, Hungarians or the Soviets. The remaining photos (about 80 percent of the total), he went on, showed no atrocities or crimes of any kind.

One of the exhibit's most often cited photographs purports to show a German army execution squad preparing to shoot several young men. In fact, as Ungváry established, this photo depicts a Hungarian firing squad in the town of Stari Becej (in Vojvodina, which at the time belonged to Hungary) in the fall of 1941. At the time there were no German troops in the area. The doomed men are Communists who had been sentenced to death by a Hungarian military court for treason, murder and sabotage.

"The crimes of the Wehrmacht were dreadful," says Ungváry, "but they were not unique. The Hungarian, Romanian and Soviet armies also carried out terrible crimes. This is also true of anti-Jewish excesses."

Missing Context

Apart from its overt deceit by misrepresenting authentic photographs, the exhibition is a propagandistic fraud on a more fundamental level because it makes sweeping generalizations and fails to provide adequate historical context. A good example is the exhibit's most familiar photograph (reproduced on the front cover of Germany's leading news magazine, *Der Spiegel*), which shows German soldiers at an execution of several men in April 1941 in Panchevo, Serbia (Vojvoidina region).

What exhibition visitors were not told is that this was an execution of 18 Yugoslav army fighters who, disguised as civilians, had been involved in shootings of German soldiers. They were sentenced to death by a military court. This execution, however grim, was in conformity with internationally recognized military law. (Also unmentioned is the fact that when Yugoslav forces retreated from Panchevo, they took with them nine ethnic German civilians as hostages, who were then murdered in a nearby forest.)

Double Standard

The controversy over the exhibition once again underscores the double standard by which wartime Germany is routinely regarded. In contrast to the heavy stress by politicians and the media on victims of the Third Reich, especially Jewish Holocaust victims, there is comparative silence about victims of the Allies, especially those of America's wartime partner, the Soviet Union.

No one demands, or expects, self-abasing apologies from America's political leaders for the massive US support for Stalin during the Second World War.

While the public is constantly exhorted to "never forget" the victims of the Holocaust, we hear no such admonition for the vastly more numerous victims of Communism.

The scholars who identified falsifications in the Wehrmacht exhibition are — to use the pejorative label that is routinely applied to those who point out false Holocaust claims — "deniers." Historians such as Musial and Ungváry "deny" the atrocities "proven" by the exhibition.

"Victims of the massacre in Kraljevo, October 1941," is the description given to this photo in the "Wehrmacht crimes" exhibition. It allegedly shows victims of a German massacre in Serbia. In fact, as Polish historian Musial established, these victims—mostly Ukrainians and Poles—had been killed by the Soviet NKVD in late June 1941 in a prison courtyard in Lviv (Lvov), western Ukraine.

Jewish groups have often criticized Germans for their alleged failure adequately to come to terms with their Nazi past. But it is doubtful that political and social leaders in any other country would give their support to an exhibition that, in effect, indicts their grandfathers as criminals.

In today's Germany, statements that call into question the official view of the Holocaust story can bring legal persecution. And truth is no defense. Several years ago, for example, German courts fined best-selling British historian David Irving 30,000 marks (about $21,000) for publicly saying what is now authoritatively conceded. He was punished for having told a Munich meeting that the structure in Auschwitz that has been portrayed for decades to tourists as an extermination gas chamber is a "dummy" (*Attrappe*).

Irving was found guilty of thus "disparaging the memory of the dead," a German criminal code provision that effectively "protects" only Jews. The judge refused to consider any of the evidence presented by Irving's attorneys, including a plea to permit the senior curator and archives director of the Auschwitz State Museum to testify in the case.

It is, of course, very unlikely that those responsible for the Wehrmacht exhibition will ever be charged, much less punished, for violating German laws against "insulting the memory of the dead" or against "popular incitement," two of the criminal code sections that are routinely applied to "Holocaust deniers."

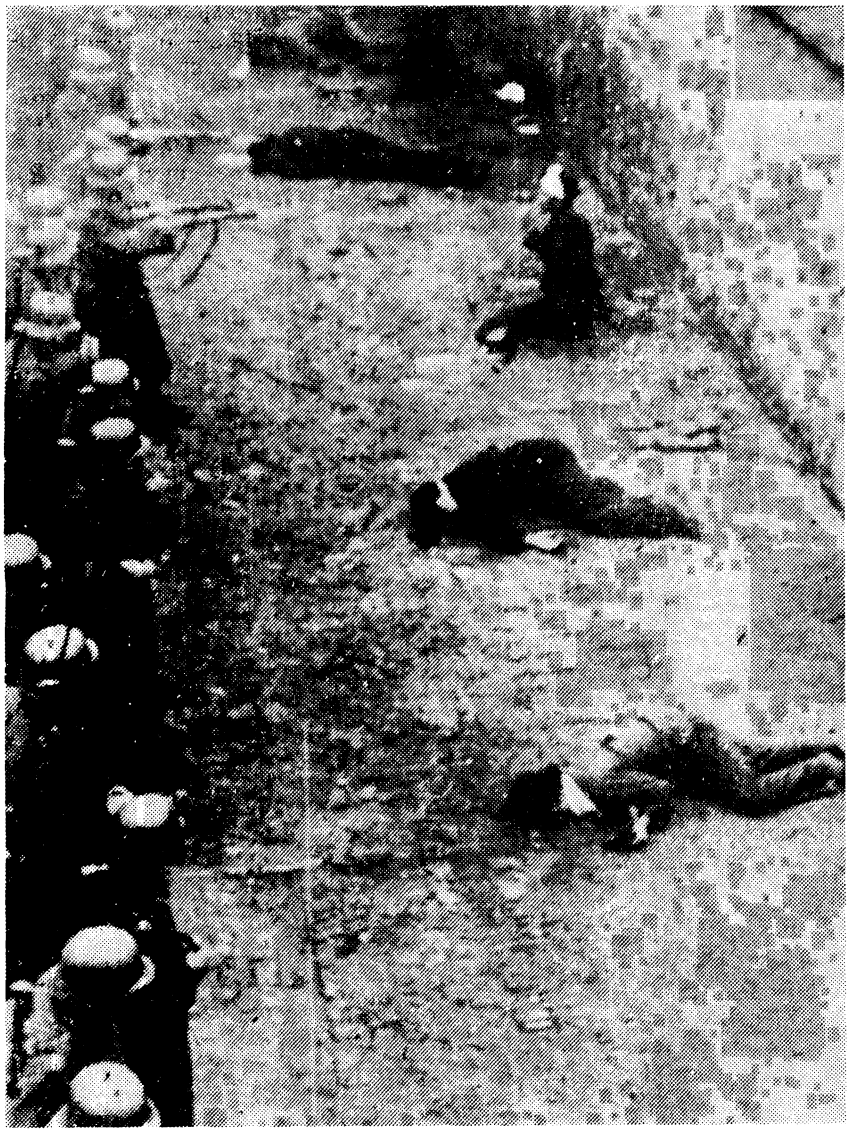
One can be sure that organizers of a comparable exhibition of Allied or Zionist crimes, no matter how factually accurate, would doubtless have to reckon with criminal indictment and prosecution.

American newspaper reports about the exhibition's revelations have tended to play down the scope of its misrepresentations, stressing that only a small portion of the photographs have been proven to be fraudulent. This is at least misleading, though, given that 70-80 percent the exhibition photos portray nothing at all sinister or criminal.

In an article about the exhibition revelations, the London *Times* warned: "The danger now is that Holocaust revisionists, who seize on all research blunders to bolster their arguments minimizing or denying the Holocaust, will try to argue that the German army was innocent of all war crimes."

Germany's Climate of Intimidation

This deceitful and defamatory traveling exhibition could only have attained the stature it did with the thoughtless or cowardly cooperation of German historians and politicians. They knew, or should have known, how fundamentally mendacious this



One of the most harrowing photos in the "Wehrmacht crimes" exhibition supposedly shows German troops executing civilians in Serbia in the fall of 1941. Hungarian historian Krisztián Ungváry has established that this picture actually shows an execution by Hungarian troops in Stari Becej (which at the time belonged to Hungary) of Communists who had been sentenced to death by a Hungarian military court for treason, murder and sabotage.

exhibit was, but many Germans today keep their mouths shut out of fear of being labeled a "revisionist," "nationalist," or "right-winger."

This is a consequence of a climate of intellectual repression, in which scholars are obliged to abide by a restrictive "political correctness," or risk public defamation or even legal persecution for daring to write or publish anything that might seem to "exonerate" the Third Reich regime.

As Budapest historian Ungváry has pointed out:

> It is certainly not easy for a German scholar to present substantive criticisms on this topic without immediately being labeled a right-winger or being suspected of supporting the wrong side. I find this very worrisome, and it is unfortunate that no one does anything about this in Germany. Criticism of the exhibition has largely been left to the right-wing extremists.

The influential German daily *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* wrote that the revelations highlighted the "intellectual climate" in today's Germany, which made possible a propagandistic enterprise with such prestigious backing. On another occasion the daily newspaper commented: "The abundance of the exhibition organizers' errors, mistakes and negligence, proven by researchers, is devastating. One is at a loss for words, considering that this is about such a serious subject. One comes across something comparable only in government-organized disinformation campaigns."

"Why didn't German historians expose the many mistakes and misrepresentations in the Wehrmacht exhibition?," wrote the editor of the German news magazine *Focus*. "History professors provide an answer only when we promise not to reveal their names: 'Every historian immediately saw just how shoddy and slanted the exhibition was set up, but who has any desire to allow himself to be publicly ruined?' The persecution of dissident thinkers has had quite an impact."

Commenting on the exhibition controversy, Dr. Musial expresses some hope for the future:

> I have the impression that the Germans have difficulties dealing with certain realities. A climate of consternation dominates, and this is certainly good for people such as Hannes Heer or Daniel Goldhagen. One does not really dare to question their views on scholarly grounds. Whoever dares to tackle these things without qualms, as I have, risks being labeled a revisionist. On the other hand, the tremendous response to my work gives me hope that finally

in Germany people will begin to discuss, substantively and unhampered, this chapter of contemporary history.

(Sources: W. Hackert, "Diffamierung der deutschen Wehrmacht," *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart* [Tübingen], Feb. 1998, pp. 22-29; "Leichen im Obstgarten," *Der Spiegel*, Jan. 25, 1999, pp. 52-53; Klaus Sojka, Hrsg., *Bilder, die Fälschen: Dubiose "Dokumente" zur Zeitgeschichte* [Munich: FZ-Verlag, 1999]; Ungváry interview in *Berliner Morgenpost*, June 14, 1999; "Geschichtsverzerrung," *Deutschland in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sept. 1999, p. 14; Musial interview, "Die Spitze eines Eisbergs," *Welt am Sonntag*, Oct. 24, 1999; "Reemtsmas Spukhaus bricht zusammen," *National-Zeitung* [Munich], Oct. 29, 1999, pp. 3-4; R. Boyes, "Photo errors arm German neo-Nazis," *The Times* [London], Nov. 2, 1999; "'Mörder-Wehrmacht': Die Lüge stirbt," *National-Zeitung* [Munich], Nov. 5, 1999, pp. 1, 4, 11; Beweismittel gefälscht, Urteil richtig," *National-Zeitung* [Munich], Nov. 12, 1999, pp. 3-6; "Wehrmacht: Neue Fälschungen," *National-Zeitung* [Munich], Nov. 19, 1999, pp. 1, 6.

A Munich publisher, FZ-Verlag, recently issued a 416-page German-language book about the Wehrmacht exhibition, *Die Wahrheit über die Wehrmacht: Reemtsmas Fälschungen widerlegt* ("The Truth about the Wehrmacht: Reemtsma's Frauds Debunked"). It is available from Deutscher Buchdienst, Postfach 60 04 64, 81204 Munich, Germany.

Perhaps the most widely-reproduced photograph in the anti-Wehrmacht exhibition is this one, which shows an execution by German troops in April 1941 in the town of Panchevo in the Vojvodina region. This was an execution of 18 Yugoslav army fighters who, disguised as civilians, had been involved in shootings of German soldiers. They were sentenced to death by a military court. As grim as it was, this execution was entirely in accord with internationally-sanctioned military law.

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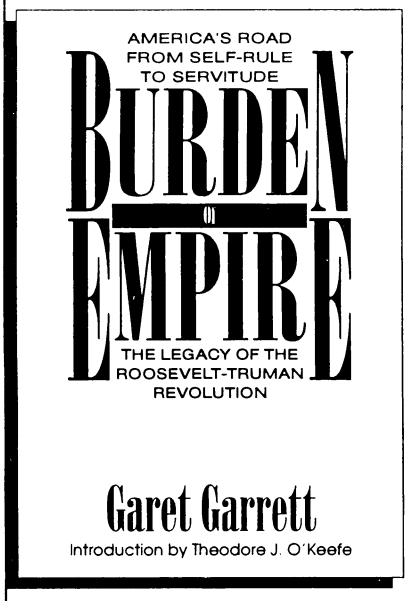

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The 'Gas Chamber' of Auschwitz I

ROBERT FAURISSON

Since 1948, the year of the founding by Polish Communist authorities of the Auschwitz State Museum, millions of tourists — 500,000 visitors per year in the early 1990s — have visited the crematory building of the main camp (Auschwitz I) with its "gas chamber" room.

Museum guides present this crematory structure (*Krema*) and its "gas chamber" as genuine, but skeptical visitors who ask impertinent questions are told, since my own visits of 1975 and 1976, that this is, in fact, a "reconstruction," which we are further informed is an identical replica of the original. In reality, the whole is neither authentic nor an identical replica of the original. In 1941-42, the *Krema* was a very conventional crematory facility with, notably, a cool morgue room for temporary storage of corpses, and an incineration block with six ovens. In 1943-44, the six ovens were done away with and the morgue room, along with other parts of the building, were transformed into an air-raid shelter with a surgical operating room serving the nearby SS hospital.

I made these discoveries in 1975-76, and published the results between 1978 and 1980.

Eric Conan

Fifteen years later, a reporter-historian named Eric Conan, although quite hostile to revisionism, published in the January 19-25, 1995, issue of the large-circulation French weekly news magazine *L'Express* a lengthy essay, "Auschwitz: the Memory of Evil" ("*Auschwitz: la mémoire du mal*"), in which he denounced the falsifications of the crematory and its "gas chamber." [See "Major French Magazine Acknowledges Auschwitz Gas Chamber Fraud," in the Jan.-Feb. 1995 *Journal*, pp. 23-24.]

Robert Faurisson

On this point, here are the findings of his inquiry (p. 68), to which I have added emphasis to certain words:

> In 1948, when the Museum was created, Crematory I was reconstructed [*reconstitué*] in its supposed original state. *Everything in it is false* [*Tout y est faux*]: the dimensions of the gas chamber, the locations of the doors, the openings for the pouring in of Zyklon B, the ovens (rebuilt according to the recollections of some survivors), the height of the chimney. In the late 1970s, Robert Faurisson exploited these *falsifications* all the better as the Museum officials balked *then* at acknowledging them.

Conan questioned a Museum official about what he calls a "misrepresentation" and about what, he reports, Théo Klein, former president of the CRIF, the "representative council of Jewish organizations of France," calls an "artifice." As Conan writes (p. 68):

Robert Faurisson is Europe's foremost Holocaust revisionist scholar. Born in 1929, he was educated at the Paris Sorbonne, and served as a professor at the University of Lyon in France from 1974 until 1990. He was a specialist of text and document analysis. His writings on the Holocaust issue have appeared in several books and numerous scholarly articles, many of which have been published in this *Journal*. A four-volume collection of many of his revisionist writings, *Écrits Révisionnistes (1974-1998)*, was published in 1999.

This essay is translated and adapted from a version that first appeared in the French periodical *National Hebdo*, February 19, 1998, under the title "Aveux Méritoires" ("Commendable Admissions").

> Krystyna Oleksy, whose director's office, which occupies the former SS hospital, looks straight out on to Crematory [building] I, has not resigned herself [to telling the truth about the "gas chamber"]: "For the time being we're going to leave it in its present state, and not give any specifics to visitors. It's too complicated. We'll see later on."

This person's reply amounts to saying: "We have lied. We are lying. We shall continue to lie ... until further notice."

Debórah Dwork and Robert-Jan van Pelt

In 1996 a 443-page study of the history of Auschwitz, from the year of the town's founding to the present, was published by W.W. Norton (New York). *Auschwitz: 1270 to the Present* was written by two historians of Jewish origin, the American Debórah Dwork and the Canadian Robert-Jan van Pelt. They report that Auschwitz State Museum authorities have made alterations, transformations, and falsifications of the Auschwitz I camp site, with regard both to the detainees' reception building and to Crematory I with its "gas chamber." The authors use the following words: "postwar obfuscation," "additions," "deletions," "suppression," "reconstruction," "largely a postwar reconstruction" (p. 363), "reconstructed," "usurpation," "re-created" (p. 364), "falsified" (p. 367), and "falsifying" (p. 369).

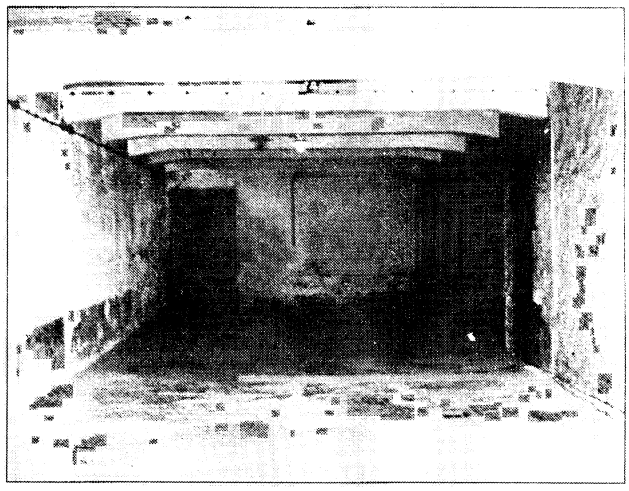
On the subject of the "gas chamber" they write (p. 364): "[After the war] four hatched openings in the roof, as if for pouring Zyklon B into the gas chamber below, were installed."

As they further point out (p. 364), there is no sign or plaque to call the public's attention to any changes, about which "... the guides remain silent ... when they take the visitors through this building that is presumed by the tourist to be the place where it happened."

Appeal to UNESCO

The entire Auschwitz complex is registered as a protected world heritage site by UNESCO — the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. Some Islamic countries, where there has been considerable indignation over the February 1998 punishment by a Paris court of French scholar Roger Garaudy for having questioned the "gas chambers," could bring an action at UNESCO regarding the emblematic "gas chamber" at Auschwitz.

They might, on this occasion, demand an impartial forensic examination of the remains of the "gas chamber" at Auschwitz-Birkenau's crematory building (*Krema*) II. The caved-in roof of this supposed mass extermination "gas chamber" has visibly never had any of the four special holes (25 by 25 cm, or 9 7/8 sq. in.) through which, we are told, Zyklon B pellets were poured in.



For decades this room in the crematory building at the Auschwitz main camp has been shown to many hundreds of thousands of tourists as an execution "gas chamber" in its "original state." In fact — and as now authoritatively acknowledged — this "gas chamber" is actually a postwar reconstruction.

This being the case, how, simply, could an execution gassing operation have even begun here at Birkenau, the core of the so-called "Holocaust"?

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Thirteenth IHR Conference Set for May

Leading Revisionist Historians and Activists to Meet in Southern California

From around the United States and across the seas, scholars, activists and friends of the Institute for Historical Review will meet in Orange County, California, over Memorial Day weekend — Saturday afternoon, May 27, through Monday afternoon, May 29, 2000 — for the IHR's 13th Revisionist Conference.

A lot has happened since the last full-scale IHR Conference, and leading activists will have much to say about the major breakthroughs, as well as the formidable new efforts of our enemies, in the international campaign for greater historical awareness about the most hyped and taboo-laden chapters of history. In addition, scholars will report on new documentary and investigative discoveries that further shatter the icons of "official" history.

The full Conference program, including the names and topics of the dozen speakers, is still being worked out. But already the line-up includes:

- Robert Faurisson, Europe's foremost revisionist scholar, will provide another of his witty and thought-provoking presentations that never fail to delight audiences.
- John Sack, author and veteran journalist, will detail the furor provoked by the publication of *An Eye for an Eye*, his headline-making exposé of the brutal mistreatment of ethnic Germans by Jewish Communist authorities in postwar Poland.
- Ernst Zündel, Canada's leading revisionist activist, and prominent German-Canadian civil rights figure, will report — in his typically irrepressible and upbeat style — on the latest in his courageous international campaign for greater awareness of suppressed history, and to restore the honor and good reputation of his people.
- Ted O'Keefe, IHR book editor, will present a bombshell dissection of the influential "Schindler's List" legend.
- Mark Weber, IHR Director, will deliver the keynote address, as well as an iconoclastic scholarly presentation.
- Greg Raven, IHR associate editor, will serve as MC.
- Bradley Smith, veteran free-speech activist, will tell how his student outreach work has shaken up one campus after another across the country.

Details about additional speakers will be announced soon.

As those who have attended in the past know, an IHR Conference is an unforgettable experience. It's a special opportunity to meet, hear and converse with the stalwart scholars and cutting-edge activists who are making headlines — and history — in their courageous fight to bring history into accord with the facts. It's also a wonderful occasion for making new revisionist friends from around the globe, or renewing old friendships — all in the sunny ambience of southern California.

Register Now!

Previous IHR Conference attendees can reserve a place simply by remitting the registration fee, and indicating a lodging preference.

Those who have not previously attended an IHR Conference should first fill out and submit an application form (which accompanies this Journal issue).

The special early registration fee (until March 31) is just $150. The regular registration (after until March 31) is $195. Attendees can bring a family member (spouse or child) for the reduced fee of $120 (early) or $155 (regular). For students (with valid ID) the rate is $50.

The registration fee — payable by personal check, money order or Visa or MC credit card — covers all lectures and events, two buffet breakfasts, and the banquet dinner.)

This three-day event will be at an elegant and easily accessible hotel, with comfortable rooms and a large pool. The precise site will be announced later to registered attendees.

For those flying in from out of town, transportation to and from the Orange County airport will be available. There is ample parking for those driving in.

The special room rate for attendees who wish to stay overnight at the hotel is $80 per room (not person). For those willing to share a room (one or two beds), the rate is just $40 per person. We'll reserve your room, and help with any special requests.

Registration will begin at 3:00 pm on Saturday afternoon, May 27. The Conference will commence promptly at 6:00 pm, run all day Sunday into the evening, and adjourn at about 3:00 pm on Monday afternoon.

Questions? Phone us at 949 - 631 1490. Fax: 949 - 631 0980.

British Wartime Propaganda Lies

During the Second World War, Britain's main "dirty tricks" propaganda agency was the Political Warfare Executive (PWE), a unit of the British Foreign Office. This psychological warfare agency invented and distributed "black" propaganda disinformation to boost morale among anti-German British and Americans, and to promote anti-German sentiment in neutral countries. Its work also included manufacturing and distributing bogus German documents.

Some of the PWE's most bizarre falsehoods were distributed on phonograph records as part of a secret "Special (Venom)" campaign directed to Arabs. These fables included reports that Hitler hated Arabs, and that a Jewish doctor had cut off the German leader's testicles. Epithets applied to Hitler in this report included including "pig," "swine" and "bastard." Such exotic propaganda was considered necessary, the PWE advised, because Hitler's prestige was "tremendous in Arab countries."

The Arab-oriented campaign also included stories suggesting that the Germans were using mosques as brothels in Axis-ruled Tripoli. According to another PWE story, "Germans [were] so short of cloth they are training agents to disinter bodies in Muslim cemeteries and seize shrouds for use as machine rugs in Germany."

One of the most malicious PWE "black" reports was this April 1943 story: "On entering Tunis Allied troops found dead children cut up as butchers' meat in the German army store. Portions of them had already been used as pork ration. Typically enough, the Germans had filed their identity cards."

Some British officials were skeptical of this campaign's effectiveness. For example, a PWE story that Goebbels had enriched himself during the war, and had hidden away a private fortune, said one official, "would evoke admiration and envy rather than disapprobation."

This "Special (Venom)" campaign was first made public in 1994 when the relevant files were declassified from Britain's Public Records Office (and then reported in *The Guardian* newspaper, London, September 8, 1994, p. 22).

During the war years, British agencies produced and disseminated a wide range of anti-German propaganda lies. According to one suggested story, the Germans were using poison gas to secretly kill off their own wounded soldiers. This manufactured "rumor," designed to mislead and demoralize the German public, was proposed by Britain's Joint Intelligence Sub-Committee in October 1941. (A facsimile of the secret wartime document confirming this is published in facsimile in the Sept.-Oct. 1993 *Journal*, p. 43.)

Even some of the more bizarre propaganda stories have proven remarkably durable over the years. A good example is the wartime fable that the Germans were manufacturing oil and soap from the bodies of murdered Jews, a report that became an important feature of Jewish and Allied war propaganda. Two major Jewish agencies, the World Jewish Congress and the American Jewish Congress, energetically promoted this lie. (See: M. Weber, "Jewish Soap," Summer 1991 *Journal*, pp. 218, 234.)

Unpunished War Crimes

"The American people should not be surprised at reports of cruelty by American soldiers during the Korean War, the war in Vietnam and World War II ... During World War II in Italy, we had captured four German soldiers. I ordered one of my men to take them back to battalion headquarters, about five miles to the rear. He returned five minutes later without the prisoners. When questioned, he explained, without remorse, that he was too tired to walk back the five miles, and so, I quote, 'I killed them.'

"In another incident, we were off the lines for a rest and were taking target practice at an improvised firing range. In the distance, a lone farmer was tending to his crop, when I saw him suddenly drop. A fellow platoon member shouted, 'I got him.' Most of my platoon members were disgusted by these unprovoked acts of cowardice and cruelty."

— Marvin Haas, of Banning, California, in a letter published in the *Los Angeles Times*, October 8, 1999.

If the People Understood

"I've never seen a President — I don't care who he is — stand up to them [the Israelis]. It just boggles the mind. They always get what they want. The Israelis know what is going on all the time. I got to the point where I wasn't writing anything down. If the American people understood what a grip those people have got on our government, they would rise up in arms. Our citizens certainly don't have any idea what goes on."

— Admiral Thomas Moorer, former Chairman of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff. Quoted by former US Congressman Paul Findley in *They Dare to Speak Out* (1989), p. 161.

A British Historian Defends His Livelihood and Honor

Opening Statement in the London Libel Trial

DAVID IRVING

In 1993 a 278-page book called Denying the Holocaust: The Growing Assault on Truth and Memory *began appearing in book stores across the United States. In this fervent polemic, author Deborah Lipstadt lashes out against those who dispute Holocaust extermination claims. An entire chapter, packed with distortions and factual errors, is devoted to the Institute for Historical Review.* (Journal *reviews of the book appeared in the Nov.-Dec. 1993 and Sept.-Oct. 1995 issues.)*

Lipstadt also took aim at British writer David Irving — author of some two dozen works of history, several of them best-sellers — calling him a "Holocaust denier" and "one of the most dangerous spokespersons for Holocaust denial." Her attack against him included demonstrably false statements.

Not confining her anti-revisionist activism to this book. Lipstadt wrote and spoke frequently about the alleged danger to truth itself posed by Holocaust skeptics. She played a role in the vicious campaign that ended with the announcement in early April 1996 by St. Martin's Press that it was cancelling its scheduled publication of Irving's eagerly-awaited biography, Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich.

Irving had had enough. Now effectively blacklisted among "mainstream" publishers, he brought a libel suit in London against Lipstadt and Penguin Books, the British publisher of Denying the Holocaust. *While such a lawsuit would be virtually unthinkable in the United States, where there is an almost unlimited right to smear any "public figure," Irving is on much more solid ground in Britain, where libel laws are far tighter.*

On January 11, 2000, the trial opened before the High Court of Justice in London. Whereas the 61-year-old Irving appeared representing himself, on opening day some 20 men and women on the defendants' legal team were present in the courtroom.

"At times during his legal battle in the high court, David Irving, a man of natural military bearing, resembles a beleaguered Wehrmacht general in some God-forsaken pocket on the Eastern front, desperately trying to beat off the Jewish-Bolshevik hordes," remarked one Jewish observer. "He stands or sits alone on one side of the courtroom, while the large defense team occupies most of the rest of it."

David Irving was in good form as he addressed a special IHR meeting in southern California on April 29, 1999. In addition to his scheduled lecture on "Winston Churchill and Charles de Gaulle: The Murderous Friendship," the British historian also spoke about the international campaign to silence him, and on preparations for his forthcoming libel suit against the author and British publisher of *Denying the Holocaust*.

Expected to last three months, the non-jury trial is widely regarded as a major battle about "Holocaust denial" and, more broadly, the Holocaust extermination story. Whereas Irving seeks to keep the trial focused on the narrower issue of libel under British law, the defendants want to make Irving himself, and "the Holocaust," the central issues. (Much more about the trial, including news reports and texts of important documents, can be found on Irving's web site: http://www.fpp.co.uk)

The stakes in this case are enormous, not least because the loser almost certainly will be ordered to pay the costs of the winner. The defendants, together with their associated law firms and allied Jewish organizations, have already invested enormous time and money in the case. If Irving loses, he faces complete financial ruin. But a victory by him would be a tremendous boost for freedom of historical inquiry

and expression, and an embarrassing setback for the international Holocaust lobby and, more generally, for Jewish-Zionist interests worldwide.

In his opening statement, Irving said that Denying the Holocaust *had generated "waves of hatred" against him and gravely harmed his livelihood as a writer. He charged that Lipstadt has been active in an "organized international endeavor" to destroy his career and reputation. Irving has also contended that Lipstadt's book, far from being the careful work of a serious scholar, is actually the "product of a research contract funded by an Israeli agency."*

Defense attorney Richard Rampton responded by telling the court that Irving "is not an historian at all, but a falsifier of history. To put it bluntly, he is a liar."

In keeping with its long-standing support for free speech and free historical inquiry, the Institute for Historical Review supports Irving in this legal battle. At the same time, though, we do not necessarily endorse all his views on history — views that, anyway, he has modified over the decades.

Here is the complete text of Irving's opening statement in the trial. Brief explanatory or elucidating remarks have been added in brackets.

— The Editor

May it please your Lordship, this is my Opening Statement in the matter of David Irving vs. Penguin Books and Deborah Lipstadt. I appear as a litigant in person, and the Defendants are represented by Mr. Richard Rampton and Miss Rogers of counsel and by Mr. Anthony Julius. There were originally three other Defendants, who can be characterized here as booksellers; but your Lordship will observe that they no longer figure in this action, a settlement having been reached.

This is an action in libel arising from the publication by the First Defendant of a book, entitled *Denying the Holocaust*, written by the Second Defendant, Professor Lipstadt.

As your Lordship is aware, the work complained of has attracted considerable attention, both in this country and in the United States and elsewhere since it was first published in 1993. Your Lordship will have before you my Statement of Claim in which I set out the grounds for my complaint, the consequence of which I am asking that the Defendants be ordered to pay damages of an amount which I will venture to suggest, and I will invite your Lordship issue an injunction against further publication of this work and that the Defendants should make the usual undertakings.

It is almost 30 years to the day since I first set foot in these Law Courts and I trust that your Lordship will allow me to digress for two or three minutes, being (in my submission) something of an historian, on the history of those events; because they are not without relevance to the proceedings upon which we are about to embark.

The occasion of that visit to this building, was an action heard before Mr. Justice Lawton, which became well known to law students as Cassell vs. Broome and Another. It too was a libel action, and I am ashamed to admit that I was the "Another," having written a book on a naval operation, *The Destruction of Convoy PQ.17.*

Deborah Lipstadt

That was the only actively fought libel action in which I became engaged in 30 years of writing. There were two reasons for this abstinence: first, I became more prudent about how I wrote; and second, I was taught to turn the other cheek.

The man who taught me the latter lesson was my first publisher. He had signed up my first book, *The Destruction of Dresden*, which was eventually published in 1963.

I had been approached in about 1961 by a well known English publisher, Mr. William Kimber. When I visited him in his offices — which were on a site which has long since been buried by a luxury hotel, the Berkeley, in Belgravia — I found him surrounded by files and documents, rather as we are all in this court room today. He wore an air of exhaustion.

Your Lordship may remember that Mr. Kimber and his author Mr. Leon Uris had become involved through a book which Uris had written, entitled *Exodus*, in a libel action brought by a London doctor who had been obliged to serve at Auschwitz. That case was also heard before Mr. Justice Lawton. There was one other similarity that closes this particular circle of coincidence: like me now, Mr. Kimber was in consequence also obliged to spend two or three years of his life wading, as he put it, "knee-deep" through the most appalling stories of atrocities and human degradation.

That day he advised me never, ever, to become involved in libel litigation. I might add that, with one exception that I shall later mention, I have heeded his advice.

There have since then been one or two minor

Attendees at the special IHR meeting with David Irving, April 29, 1999.

legal skirmishes, which have not involved much "bloodshed": there was an action against an author, which I foolishly started at the same time as the *PQ.17* case and, having lost the latter, was obliged for evident reasons to abandon on relatively painless conditions; and a more recent action against a major London newspaper, who put into my mouth, no doubt inadvertently, some particularly offensive words which had in fact been uttered by Adolf Hitler; that newspaper settled out of Court with me on terms which were eminently acceptable.

I have often thought of Mr. Kimber's predicament since the 1960s, and more particularly the last three years. I have been plunged into precisely the same "knee-deep" position, ever since I issued the originating writs in this action in September 1996. If I am late with the bundles and papers upon which this Court relies, I can only plead this in mitigation.

I have never held myself out to be a Holocaust expert, nor have I written books about what is now called the Holocaust: if I am an expert in anything at *all*, I may be so immodest as to submit that it is in the role that Adolf Hitler played in the propagation of World War II and in the decisions which he made, and the knowledge on which he based those decisions.

As a peripheral matter to that topic, on which I have written a number of books, I inevitably investigated the extent to which Hitler participated in or had cognizance of the Holocaust. That was the sum total of my involvement as a book author up to the launching of these writs.

Since then, because of the tactics chosen by the Defendants, I have been obliged, willy nilly, to become something of an expert, through no desire of my own. To my utmost distaste it has become evident that it is no longer possible to write pure history, untrammeled and uninfluenced by politics, once one ventures into this unpleasant field.

I have done my best to prepare the case that follows, but I respectfully submit that I do not have any duty to become an expert on the Holocaust; it is not saying anything unknown to this Court, I remind those present that, the Defendants having pleaded justification, as they have, it is not incumbent upon me as the Claimant to prove the wrongness of what they have published. It is for them to prove that what they wrote was true.

I intend to show that far from being a "Holocaust denier," I have repeatedly drawn attention to major aspects of the Holocaust and have described them, and I have provided historical documents both to the community of scholars and to the general public, of which they were completely unaware before I discovered these documents, and published and translated them.

It will be found that I selflessly provided copies of the documents, that I had at great expense myself

unearthed foreign archives even to my rival historians, as I felt that it was important in the interests of general historical research that [they] should be aware of these documents (I am referring for example to the Bruns Report, which we shall shortly hear; and to the dossier on Kurt Aumeier in British files, a dossier which even the Defense Experts admit is one of the most important historical finds, since the writings of Rudolf Höss, the commandant of Auschwitz, were published after the war.

There is one essential plea that I wish to make of this Court; I am aware that the Defendants have expended a considerable sum of money in researching all over again the harrowing story of what actually happened in what they call the Holocaust.

I submit that, harsh though it may seem, the Court should take no interest in that tragedy. The Court may well disagree with me, and show a profound interest in it; but in my submission, we have to avoid the temptations of raking over the history of what happened in Poland or in Russia 50 years ago: what is moot here is not what happened in those sites of atrocities — but what happened over the last 32 years, on my writing desk in my apartment off Grosvenor Square.

To justify her allegations of manipulation and distortion, it will not suffice for Professor Lipstadt to show, if she can, that I misrepresented what happened, but the following: that I knew what happened; and that I perversely and deliberately, for whatever purpose, portrayed it differently from how I knew it to have happened.

That is what manipulation and distortion means, and the other, though fundamental, story of what actually happened is neither here nor there. In effect, this inquiry should not leave the four walls of my study: it should look at the papers that lay before me — and not before some other, magnificently funded researcher or scholar — and at the manuscript that I then produced on the basis of my own limited sources.

My Lord, if we were to seek a title for this libel action, I would venture to suggest "Pictures At An Execution."

Your Lordship may or may not be aware that I have had a reputation as an historian and as an investigative writer arising from the 30 or so works which I have published in English and other languages over the years since 1961. I am the author of many scores of articles in serious and respected newspapers, including over the years in this country *The Daily Telegraph, The Sunday Telegraph*, the *Jewish Chronicle*, the *Sunday Express*, the *Evening Standard, Encounter*, and publications of similar repute in Germany, my articles have appeared in newspapers ranging from *Die Welt, Die Welt am Sonntag*, and magazines and journals like *Stern, Der Spiegel, Neue Illustrierte*, and *Quick*.

My books have appeared between hard covers under the imprint of the finest publishing houses. I might mention in this country the imprints of William Kimber, Ltd., Cassell & Co., Ltd., Macmillan, Ltd., Hodder & Stoughton, Penguin and Allen Lane and others. As the Second Defendant is, I understand an American citizen, it might be meritorious for me to add that my works have also been published by her country's leading publishing houses, too, including the Viking Press; Little, Brown; Simon & Schuster; Holt, Reinhardt, Winston; St Martin's Press; and a score of no less reputable paperback publishing houses.

Each of those published works by me contained in or near the title page a list of my previous publications and frequently a sample of the accolades bestowed on my works by the leading names of literature and historiography on both sides of the Atlantic.

This happy situation, namely having my works published in the leading publishing houses of the world, ended a year or two ago under circumstances which I shall venture, if your Lordship permits, to set out later in my remarks. Suffice it to say that this very day the *Australia / Israel Review* has published in Sydney a presumably well-informed article, coming as it does from their corner, which provides one missing link in the circumstances under which St. Martin's Press finally terminated their contract to publish my book *Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich:*

> ... One of the catalysts for the case was Irving's experience with American publisher St. Martin's Press, which, after being warned by Lipstadt and others about Irving's approach to history, then cancelled its agreement to publish Irving's book *Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich* in the US.

So these Defendants have done very real damage to my professional existence. May I first of all set out the very real pecuniary damage which can be done to an author by an attack on his reputation. It is not merely that he suffers injury and hurt to his feelings from unjustified attacks, whatever their nature.

An author, by virtue of his trade, lives a precarious financial existence. A tenured professor or other scholar can look forward to a brief career, lengthy vacations, high rewards, and eventually a pension. Perhaps some members of the legal profession enjoy the same fortunate expectations.

A writer leads a much lonelier and more hazardous existence. When he first embarks on his career he may write a string of works that are never pub-

lished. I was fortunate in this respect; when I first started advertising in The Times in 1961, inviting British airmen who had taken part in the principle operations of Royal Air Force Bomber Command to come forward, among those who contacted me was Mr. William Kimber, a publisher of great repute who himself felt deeply about the ethical questions raised by these saturation bombing operations.

I therefore did not have the usual problem that faces most first-time authors, namely that of crossing the difficult threshold from being an unpublished, to a published author. My first book, *The Destruction of Dresden*, was serialized by *The Sunday Telegraph* and attracted much critical acclaim. It was only then that I took the, perhaps fateful, decision to become a writer.

If I may now advance rapidly some 20 or 30 years — and I sense the Court's relief — I would repeat a brief conversation I had with my accountant, at a time when I was earning more than £100,000 in royalties per year. My accountant, no doubt with his eye on the commission involved, asked what steps I had taken in anticipation of retirement. My immodest reply was that I did not intend to retire, and when he murmured something about pensions, I replied that my books were my pension fund.

If I may explain that remark: if an author has written a good book it will be published and republished, and on each occasion a fresh ripple of royalties reaches the author's bank account. Admittedly the ripples become smaller as the years recede, but if he has written enough books in his 30 or 40 years of creativity then the ripples together make waves large enough to sustain him into and beyond the years of retirement. Indeed, they should also provide something of a legacy for his children, of whom I still have four.

That situation no longer obtains.

By virtue of the activities of the Defendants, in particular of the Second Defendant, and of those who funded her and guided her hand, I have since 1996 seen one fearful publisher after another falling away from me, declining to reprint my works, refusing to accept new commissions and turning their backs on me when I approach.

In private, the senior editors at those publishing houses still welcome me warmly as a friend, invite me to lunch in expensive New York restaurants — and then lament that if they were to sign a contract with me on a new book, there would always be somebody in their publishing house who would object. Such is the nature of the odium that has been generated by the waves of hatred recklessly propagated against me by the Defendants.

In short my "pension" has vanished, as assuredly as if I had been employed by one of those companies taken over by the late Mr. Robert Maxwell.

I am not submitting that it is these Defendants alone who have single-handedly wrought this disaster upon me. I am not even denying that I may have been partly to blame for it myself.

Had I written books about the Zulu Wars, as the Air Ministry earnestly advised me in 1963, when my book *The Destruction of Dresden* was first published, I would no doubt not have faced this hatred.

Unfortunately, World War II became my area of expertise; I generated a personal archive of documents, a network of sources and contacts, a language ability, and a facility to research in foreign archives, and eventually a constituency of readers who expected and wanted me to write only about the Third Reich and its criminal leadership.

What obliges me to make these sweeping opening remarks, is that I shall maintain that the Defendants did not act alone in their determination to destroy my career, and to vandalize my legitimacy as an historian. They were part of an organized international endeavor at achieving precisely that. I have seen the papers. I have copies of the documents. I shall show them to this Court. I know how they did it, and I now know why.

Nearly all of these villains acted beyond the jurisdiction of these Courts. Some of them however acted within, and I have on one disastrous occasion tried to proceed against them too.

I mention here and, only in a few words, that one example: as the Court will no doubt hear, I was expelled in the most demeaning circumstances from Canada in November 1992. I need not go into the background of that event here, but I shall certainly do so later if in their attempts to blacken my name further, the Defendants indulge in that exercise in this Court.

Seeking to establish why Canada — a friendly government — a country which I had entered unhindered for 30 years or more, should suddenly round upon me as savagely as a rottweiler, I used all the appliances of Canadian law to establish what had gone on behind closed doors.

I discovered in the files of the Canadian government, using that country's Access to Information Act, a mysterious and anonymous document blackening my name which had been planted there for the purpose of procuring precisely the ugly consequence that had flowed from it in 1992.

Among the stupid lies that this anonymous document contained about me, was the suggestion that I had married my first wife because she was "the daughter of one of General Francisco Franco's top generals," in order to ingratiate *myself* with the Spanish fascist regime. Another suggestion was that I lived too well for an author (I have lived for over 32 years in the same house off Grosvenor

Square in Mayfair) — that to sustain such a level of living purely from my income as an author was impossible; the implication being that I was receiving secret checks from Nazi fugitives in South America.

I telephoned my first wife to ask her what her father had been, and she reminded me that he was an industrial chemist, a dedicated enemy of the regime after two of his brothers had been shot by Franco's men.

It took over a year to establish beyond doubt who was the author of this infamous document. Eventually it turned out to have been provided secretly to the Canadian government by an unofficial body based in London, whose name I do not propose to state in this Court here, as they are not formally represented in this action [identified out of court as the Board of Deputies of British Jews].

Suffice it to say that when I applied to a judge in chambers for leave to take libel action out of time, the culprits made no attempt to justify their libels, but pleaded that the Statute of Limitations had run; which plea was allowed, though with regret, by Mr. Justice Toulson. The mendacious body concerned then had the temerity to pursue me to the threshold of the Bankruptcy Court for the legal costs that it had incurred in that one day hearing, amounting to over £7,500. It is a rough life, being an independent author.

This brings us to the present case. In 1993 the First Defendant, as they allow in their witness statements, published *Denying the Holocaust*, the work complained of, within the jurisdiction, written by the Second Defendant.

The book purports to be a scholarly investigation of the operations of an international network conspiracy of people whom the Second Defendant has dubbed "Holocaust deniers." It is not. The phrase itself, which the Second Defendant prides herself on having coined and crafted, appears repeatedly throughout the work, and it has subsequently become embedded in the vernacular of a certain kind of journalist who wishes to blacken the name of some person, where the more usual rhetoric of neo-Nazi, Nazi, racist, and other similar epithets is no longer deemed adequate. Indeed, the phrase appears over 300 times in just one of the Defendants' experts reports!

It has become one of the most potent phrases in the arsenal of insult, replacing the N-word, the F-word, and a whole alphabet of other slurs. If an American politician, like Mr. Patrick Buchanan, is branded even briefly a "Holocaust denier," his career can well be said to be in ruins. If a writer, no matter how well reviewed and received until then, has that phrase stuck to him, then he too regard his career as rumbling off the edge of a precipice.

As a phrase it is of itself quite meaningless. The word "Holocaust" is an artificial label commonly attached to one of the greatest and still most unexplained tragedies of this past century.

The word "denier" is particularly evil: because no person in full command of his mental faculties, and with even the slightest understanding of what happened in World War II, can deny that the tragedy actually happened, however much we dissident historians may wish to quibble about the means, the scale, the dates and other minutiae.

Yet meaningless though it is, the phrase has become a part of the English language. It is a poison to which there is virtually no antidote, less lethal than a hypodermic with nerve gas jabbed in the neck, but deadly all the same: for the chosen victim, it is like being called a wife beater or a pædophile. It is enough for the label to be attached, for the attachee to find himself designated as a pariah, an outcast from normal society. It is a verbal Yellow Star.

In many countries now where it was considered that the mere verbal labelling was not enough, governments have been prevailed upon to pass the most questionable laws, including some which can only be considered a total infringement of the normal human rights of free speech, free opinion and freedom of assembly.

Germany has not had an enviable reputation in any of these freedoms over the last century. True to form, in Germany it is now a criminal offense to question the mode, the scale, the system, or even the statistics of the Holocaust. No defense is allowed. Some good friends of mine, I have no hesitation in allowing to this Court, are sitting at this very moment in German prisons for having ventured to voice such questions.

In France the situation is even more absurd: any person found guilty in France, under a new law aptly named an "amendment of the law on the freedom of the Press" finds himself fined, or imprisoned, or both. This law, passed in 1991, makes it a criminal offense to challenge (the French word is *contester*) any war crimes or crimes against humanity "as defined by the Nuremberg Statute" of 1945.

Fifty years on, it has become a criminal offense to question whether Nuremberg got it right. History is to be as defined by the four victorious powers in the Nuremberg trials of 1945-1946.

I respectfully submit and would, indeed, hope that your Lordship would find such laws, if enacted in this country, to be utterly repugnant. For that same reason I have no hesitation in saying that some more good friends of mine have been fined under precisely this French law. Indeed, in 1993 or 1994, I myself was fined the sum of £500 by a Paris court under this law: I had given an interview to a

French journalist in the study of my home in London; this interview was published in a reputable journal, there were complaints in Paris; and I was summoned before the French magistrates, and fined along with the publisher, editor and journalist concerned for having given this interview. It is indeed a very sorry state of affairs.

We may hear the word "conspiracy" uttered during the next few days and weeks. If there has been a conspiracy, it is a conspiracy against free speech.

I might mention that my father fought as an officer in the Royal Navy in both wars, both in the Battle of Jutland in 1916 and in the Arctic convoys of 1942, and that both my brothers have served in the Royal Air Force. My father was an arctic explorer between the wars, and admiralty charts show two island points in the South Sandwich Islands named after him and his first officer, my uncle.

I come from a service family and I find it odious that at the end of the twentieth century writers and historians going about their own respective businesses, writing books that may indeed have been completely wrong have found themselves suddenly and vicariously threatened with imprisonment or with crippling fines for having expressed opinions on history which are at variance with these new freshly enacted laws, which have been introduced at the insistence of wealthy pressure groups and other enemies of the free speech for which we fought two World Wars in this country.

Your Lordship will undoubtedly hear from the Defendants that I was fined a very substantial sum of money by the German government under these witless new laws. It is no matter of shame for me, although it has had catastrophic consequences, as it now makes me *de facto* "a convict," with a criminal record, and as such liable to a concatenation of further indignities and sanctions in every foreign country which I now wish to visit.

The circumstances: I may say here quite briefly that on April 21, 1990, nearly ten years ago, I delivered an address, quite possibly ill-judged, to an audience at a hall in Munich.

When one agrees to attend such functions, one has little way of knowing in advance what kind of audience one will be addressing, and one has no control over the external appearance of the function. I make no complaint about that.

Your Lordship will hear, that in the course of my speech, of which apparently no full transcript in survives, I uttered the following remark:

"We now know that the gas chamber shown to the tourists at Auschwitz is a fake built by the Poles after the war, just like the one established by the Americans at Dachau."

This may well raise eyebrows. It might be found to be offensive by sections of the community, and if they take such offense, I can assure this Court that I regret it and that such was not my intention. The fact remains that these remarks were true, the Poles admitted it (in January 1995) and under English law truth has always been regarded as an absolute defense.

We shall hear, indeed from the Defense's own expert witnesses, though perhaps the admission will have to be bludgeoned out of them, that the gas chamber shown to the tourists at Auschwitz was indeed built by the Polish Communists three years after the war was over.

I do not intend to go into the question of whether or not there were gas chambers at Birkenau, some five miles from Auschwitz, in these opening remarks. By the time this trial is over we shall probably all be heartily sick of the debate, which has little or no relevance to the issues that are pleaded.

So what are the issues that are pleaded and how do I propose to address those issues in opening this case?

First, let me emphasize that I also have no intentions, and neither is it the purpose of this trial, to "refight World War II." I shall not argue, and have never argued, that the wrong side won the war, for example; or that the history of the war needs to be grossly rewritten. I must confess that I am mystified at the broad thrust which the Defendants have taken in the vast body of documentation which they have served upon this Court — another 5,000 pages were delivered to me on Friday evening, and more last night.

It is all something of an embarrassment to me, and I am being forced into positions that I have not previously adopted. I have never claimed to be a Holocaust historian. I have written no book about the Holocaust. I have written no article about it. If I have spoken about it, it is usually because I have been questioned about it. On such occasions, I have emphasized my lack of expertise, and I have expatiated only upon those areas with which I am familiar. In doing so, I have offended many of my friends, who wished that history was different. But you cannot wish documents away, and it is in documents that I have always specialized as a writer.

Your Lordship will find upon reviewing my various printed works that I have very seldom used other peoples' books as sources. I have found it otiose and tedious, not only because they are ill-written, but also because in reading other peoples' books you are liable to imbibe the errors and prejudices with which those books are beset.

If however, you go to the original documents, you will often find to your joy that the weight of documents you have to read is, pound for pound, or indeed ton for ton, less than the weight of books that

you might otherwise have to read upon the same subject. And you are kilometers closer to the original real history.

As for the nature of documents: I remember that in 1969 I visited Professor Hugh Trevor Roper, who is now Lord Dacre and I am glad to say still with us. He very kindly made available to me his collection of several thousand original intelligence documents for my biography of Adolf Hitler, but in doing so he advised me as follows: when considering new documents, you should ask yourself three questions: and if I remember correctly, those three criteria were,

1. Is the document genuine? (possibly, in the light of the "Hitler Diaries" scandal, an unfortunate pre-requisite in this case)
2. Is the document written by a person in a position to know what he is talking about? and
3. Why does this document exist?

The latter is quite interesting, as we have all experienced, in the archives, coming across documents obviously written for window-dressing or for buck passing purposes.

It is the documents in this case which I think the Court will find most interesting and illuminating. And by that I mean documents at every level. The Court will have to consider not only the documents originating in World War II on both sides, but also the documents that have been generated by that painful process known as Discovery.

It will not escape the Court, my Lord, when the time comes, that like many personalities, I have kept the most voluminous records throughout my career as a writer, and indeed even before it. Along with my writing career I kept a diary; sometimes I wondered why, but I think that the reason was basically this — if you are a writer, and self-employed, you need the discipline that a diary imposes upon you. You cannot in conscience enter in a diary at the end of the day: "I did nothing all day."

Your Lordship will be amused no doubt to hear that at one stage in the Discovery process in this action, at the request of Mr. Julius, I readily agreed to make available to the Defense my entire diaries, in so far as they still exist (a few pages are missing); and that Mr. Julius only then learned that these diaries occupy a shelf eight feet long; and that in them there are approximately there are probably 10 or 20 million words to be read.

Mr. Julius and his staff have, however, risen most nobly to the challenge that these pages presented, and I am sure that over the next few days and weeks we shall be hearing more than one morsel that they have dredged out if these pages. They will hold it aloft, still dripping with something or other, and read it to this Court with a squeal of delight, proclaiming this to be the Philosopher's Stone that they needed to justify their Client's libels all along. We shall see.

But that is not what this trial is all about.

This trial is not really about what happened in the Holocaust, or how many Jews and other persecuted minorities were tortured and put to death. This Court will, I hope, agree with me when the time comes that the issue before us is not what happened, but how I treated it in my works of history: it may be that I was totally ignorant on some aspects of World War II (and I hasten to say that I do not believe I was). But to be accused of deliberate manipulation, and distorting, and mistranslating is perverse: the Defendants must show, in my humble submission,

1. that a particular thing happened or existed,
2. that I was aware of that particular thing, as it happened or existed, at the time I wrote about it, from the records then before me;
3. that I then wilfully manipulated the text or mis-translated or distorted for the purposes that they imply.

I will submit that in no instance can they prove this to be the case. They certainly have not done so in the documents so far pleaded.

I readily concede that what I have read of the reports submitted by the Defendants' experts, particularly those of the historians, is of the utmost interest. I have to congratulate Professor Jan van Pelt, for the literary quality of his lengthy report on Auschwitz, which will no doubt eventually see general circulation in the bookstores: indeed, I congratulated him three years ago already on the first book that he published on this topic.

I admit too that there are documents contained in the expertise of Professor Browning of which I was not aware, and which have changed my own perception of some aspects of the Nazi atrocities on the Eastern front: for example, I was not aware that the SS Obergruppenführer Reinhard Heydrich had issued instructions to his commanders in the Baltic States, after Operation Barbarossa began in June 1941, not only to turn a blind eye upon the anti-Jewish pogroms started by the local populations in those countries, but also actively to initiate them and to provide assistance.

This document, however, emerged only recently from the Russian archives and there can surely be no reproach against me for not having known that when I wrote my biography of Hitler, published in 1977, or in my later works. That cannot be branded as manipulation or distortion.

What is manipulation or distortion of history would be, in my submission this: knowing of the existence of a key document and then ignoring it or suppressing it entirely, without even a mention.

If, for example, it should turn out, and be proven in this very Courtroom, that in the spring of 1942

the Nazi leader Adolf Hitler was quoted by a senior Reich Minister, in writing, as repeatedly saying that he "wanted the final solution of the Jewish problem postponed until the war is over"; and if the document recording those remarkable words has been found in the German archives; it would surely be classifiable as manipulation or distortion if a historian were to attempt to write the history of the Holocaust without even mentioning the document's existence? Would it not, my Lord?

The Defendants have, as said, arbitrarily and recklessly decided to label me a "Holocaust denier" — their motivation for doing so we shall shortly hear about. My Lord, before I continue to address this point in my opening statement, may I take this opportunity to read to the Court, and into the public records, a two-page document, which I shall refer to as the Walter Bruns interrogation. I do so because perceptions matter, and I want at this late afternoon hour to leave a firm perception in the minds of all those present. It is a document which first came into my hands some time before 1985.

I should say, my Lord, by way of introduction, that this document, which is in my Discovery, was originally a British Top-Secret document. Top Secret is only one rung lower than Ultra Secret, the classification given to the British decoded intercepts. It was Top Secret, because it is the record of an interrogation which was obtained by methods that were illegal, I understand, under the Conventions.

Enemy prisoners of war were brought into British prison camps, treated lavishly, well-fed, reassured by their relaxed surroundings, and gradually led into conversation, unaware that in every fitting and appliance in the room were hidden microphones capable of picking up. (That was the illegality: you are not allowed to do that under the [Geneva] Conventions.) Released to the British archives only a few years ago were all of these reports, but I had already obtained several hundred 15 or 20 years earlier. I consider these transcripts to be a historical source which, if properly used and if certain criteria are applied, can be regarded as part of the bedrock of real history.

I would say further by way of preamble, my Lord, that the speaker whose recorded voice we are about to hear, as reproduced in this typescript, was on November 30, 1941, the day of the episode he narrates, a Colonel in the German Army Engineers force (the sappers, or Pioniere); he was commanding a unit based at Riga, the capital of Latvia. He had learned to his vexation that it was intended by the local SS unit to round up all the local Jews, including "his Jews" in the next day or two and to liquidate them.

I read from the document itself. It is headed: "Top secret. CSDIC (UK)" which is Combined Services Detailed Interrogation Center UK. "GG Report. If the information contained in this report is required for distribution, it should be paraphrased so that no mention is made of the prisoners' names, nor of the methods by which the information has been obtained" because, of course, it was illegal."

"The following conversation took place between General-Major Bruns," his full name was Walter Bruns. At this time he was at the Heeres-Waffenmeisterschule which was an army school, an armament school, in Berlin, "captured at Gottingen on April 8th 1945, and other Senior Officer Prisoners of War whose voices could not be identified." In other words, it is a conversation between this General and various other prisoners overheard by hidden microphones on April 25th, 1945. "Information received: 25 April 1945," in other words, the war is still running.

Translation: "Bruns: As soon as I heard those Jews were to be shot on Friday, I went to a 21-year-old boy and said that they had made themselves very useful in the area under my command, besides which the Army MT park had employed 1500 and the 'Heeresgruppe' 800 women to make underclothes of the stores we captured in Riga; besides which about 1200 women in the neighborhood of Riga were turning millions of captured sheepskins into articles we urgently required: ear protectors, fur caps, fur waistcoats, etc. Nothing had been proved, as of course the Russian campaign was known to have come to a victorious end in October 1941!" Sarcasm there. "In short, all those women were employed in a useful capacity. I tried to save them. I told that fellow Altenmeyer(?) whose name I shall always remember and who will be added to the list of war criminals: 'Listen to me, they represent valuable manpower!' 'Do you call Jews valuable human beings, sir?'" That was the answer. "I said: 'Listen to me properly, I said valuable manpower. I didn't mention their value as human beings'. He said: 'Well, they're to be shot in accordance with the Führer's orders!' I said: 'Führer's orders?' 'Yes', whereupon he showed me his orders. This happened at Skiotawa(?) eight kilometers from Riga, between Siaulai and Jelgava, where 5,000 Berlin Jews were suddenly taken off the train and shot. I didn't see that myself, but what happened at Skiotawa(?) — to cut a long story short, I argued with the fellow and telephoned to the General at HQ, to Jakobs and Aberger(?) and to a Dr. Schultz who was attached to the Engineer General, on behalf of these people." It is a bit incoherent the way that people talk when they are gossiping with each other. "I told him: 'Granting that the Jews have committed a crime against the other peoples of the world, at least let

them do the drudgery; send them to throw earth on the roads to prevent our heavy lorries skidding'. 'Then I'd have to feed them!' I said: 'The little amount of food they receive, let's assume 2 million Jews — they got 125 grams of bread a day — we can't even manage that, the sooner we end the war the better'. Then I telephoned, thinking it would take some time. At any rate, on Sunday morning," that is November 30th 1941, "I heard that they had already started on it. The Ghetto was cleared. They were told: 'You're being transferred: take along your essential things.' Incidentally, it was a happy release for those people, as their life in the Ghetto was a martyrdom. I wouldn't believe it and drove there to have a look." The person he is talking to says: "Everyone abroad knew about it; only we Germans were kept in ignorance."

Bruns continues his narrative: "I'll tell you something: some of the details may have been correct, but it was remarkable that the firing squad detailed that morning — six men with tommy-guns posted at each pit; the pits were 24 meters in length and three meters in breadth — they had to lie down like sardines in a tin with their heads in the center'," like that in the pit.

"'Above them were six men with tommy-guns who gave them the *coup de grace*," who shot them. "When I arrived those pits were so full that the living had to lie down on top of the dead; then they were shot and, in order to save room, they had to lie down neatly in layers. Before this, however, they were stripped of everything at one of the stations — here at the edge of the wood were the three pits they used that Sunday and here they stood in a queue one and-a-half kilometers long which they approached step by step — a queuing up for death. As they drew nearer they saw what was going on. About here they had to hand over their jewellery and suitcases. All good stuff was put into the suitcases and the remainder was thrown on a heap. This was to serve as clothing for our suffering population — and then a little further on they had to undress and, 500 meters in front of the wood, strip completely; they were only permitted to keep on a chemise or knickers. They were all women and small two-year old children. Then all those cynical remarks! If only I had seen those tommy-gunners, who were relieved every hour because of over-exertion, carry out their task with distaste, but no, nasty remarks like: 'Here comes a Jewish beauty!' I can still see it all in my memory: a pretty woman in a flame-coloured chemise. Talk about keeping the race pure: at Riga they first slept with them and then shot them to prevent them from talking.

"Then I sent two officers out there, one of whom is still alive," in April 1945, "because I wanted eyewitnesses. I didn't tell them what was going on, but said: 'Go out to the forest of Skiotawa(?), see what's up there and send me a report'. I added a memorandum to their report and took it to Jakobs myself. He said: 'I have already two complaints sent me by Engineer "Bataillone" from the Ukraine'. There they shot them on the brink of large crevices and let them fall down into them; they nearly had an epidemic of plague, at any rate a pestilential smell. They thought they could break off the edges with picks, thus burying them. That *loess* there" — that is a kind of ground — "was so hard that two Engineer 'Bataillone' were required to dynamite the edges; those 'Bataillone' complained. Jakobs" — he was the engineer general in charge of the pioneer corps — "had received that complaint. He said: 'We didn't quite know how to tell the Führer'," Adolf Hitler. "'We'd better do it through Canaris', the Chief of the German Intelligence. "So Canaris had the unsavoury task of waiting for the favourable moment to give the Führer certain gentle hints. A fortnight later I visited the Oberburgermeister, or whatever he was called then, concerning some over business. Altenmeyer(?)" who was the SS man on the spot "triumphantly showed me: 'Here is an order just issued, prohibiting mass shootings on that scale from taking place in future. They are to be carried out more discreetly'. From warnings given me recently, I knew that I was receiving still more attentions from spies."

Then his interlocutor says to him: "It's a wonder you're still alive." Bruns says: "At Göttingen, I expected to be arrested every day."

My Lord, permit me a word about the credentials of that particular document. It is authentic. It comes from the British archives. A copy can be found in the Public Record Office this very day if anyone wishes to go and see it. First: is the General describing something he had really seen?

I mention this because later, on his sworn oath in the Witness stand in Nuremberg, he claimed only to have heard of this atrocity. Yet there can surely be no doubt of the verisimilitude: it does not take university level textual analysis to realize that if a General says, "I can see her in my mind's eye now, a girl in a flame-red dress," this is a man who has been there and seen it with his own eyes.

This document has in my submission considerable evidentiary value. It is not self-serving. The General is not testifying in his own interest. He is merely talking, probably in a muffled whisper, to fellow prisoners at a British interrogation center, and he has no idea that in another room British experts are listening to and recording every word. We also have the original German text of this document I might add, my Lord.

To what purpose do I mention this? Well, firstly

because I shall, later on in these proceedings, add further unknown documents, from the same superb British archives — that is, the Public Records Office — to the events of this one day, documents which show Hitler taking a most remarkable stand on this atrocity.

But I also adduce this document for the following reason:

- if an historian repeatedly refers to this document;
- if he quotes from it;
- if he immediately writes showing it to fellow historians, both Jews and non-Jews alike, and in writing draws their attention to the existence of this document, and its fellow documents, all of which were hitherto unknown to them;
- if moreover that historian reads out this document in public, with its awful, infernal descriptions of the mass killings of Jews by the Nazis on the eastern front, on multiple speaking occasions;
- if this historian, speaking to audiences even of the most extreme hues of left and right, heedless as to their anger, insists on reading out the document in full, thus "rubbing their noses in it" so to speak; and
- if he continues to do so over a period of 15 years, again and again, right up to the present date, and
- if he quotes that document in the text, and references that document in the footnotes of all his most recent works, beginning with the *Hitler's War* biography republication in 1991, through *Goebbels: Mastermind of the Third Reich* in 1996 and *Nuremberg, the Last Battle* in 1997:

Then — is it not a libel of the most grotesque and offensive nature to brand that same historian around the world as a "Holocaust denier," when he has not only discovered and found and propagated this document and brought it to the attention of both his colleagues and his rivals and his foes, regardless of their race or religion, and to countless audiences? [Irving cited and quoted from this document, for example, at the Eleventh IHR Conference, October 1992. See the March-April 1993 *Journal*, pp. 23-35, and the July-August 1995 *Journal*, p. 46.]

This is not an isolated example, my Lord. In the introduction to my biography of Adolf Hitler, *Hitler's War*, which was published by The Viking Press in America and by Hodder & Stoughton in the United Kingdom and later by Macmillan, we shall find that I have drawn specific and repeated attention of the reader to the crimes that Adolf Hitler committed.

How did all this happen? I shall invite the Court to hear expert evidence on the relationship between the world's Jewish communities and the rest of us, given by a professor of sociology at a leading American university who has published a number of book-length studies on the topic.

The Jewish community, their fame and fortunes, play a central role in these proceedings. It will not surprise the Court, I suppose, that among the allegations leveled against me by the Defendants and by their Experts is the adjective of "anti-Semitic."

This adjective is both the most odious and the most overworked of epithets. Almost invariably, it is wielded by members or representatives of that community to denigrate those outside their community in whom they find disfavor.

It does not matter that the person whom they label as anti-Semitic has conducted himself towards that community in an irreproachable manner until then; it does not matter that he has shown them the same favors that he has shown to others; it does not seem to matter either that that same community who thus labels him or her, has conducted against him an international campaign of the most questionable character in an attempt to destroy his legitimacy, the economic existence upon which he and his family depends.

If he defends himself against these attacks, he is sooner or later bound to be described as anti-Semitic.

It has become a ritual. No doubt the English people, who in 1940 found it necessary to defend themselves against the Germans, would by the same token earn the title of anti-German. Is a person who defends himself, ultimately and wearily and after turning the other cheek for 20 or 30 years, *ipso facto* no better than the most incorrigible kind of ingrained anti-Semite with whom we are probably all familiar? I submit that he is not. [*sic*]

This Court will find that like most Englishmen, I have had dealings with both English and foreign Jews throughout my professional life.

There were to my knowledge no pupils of the Jewish faith at the minor Essex Public School that I (in common with our present Home Secretary) attended from 1947 to 1956; I was surprised when I recently heard the suggestion that there had been.

I encountered many Jewish students when I attended London University however — I would like to commemorate here the name of my flat mate at Imperial College, Mike Gorb, who died tragically in a mountaineering accident; I regarded as a good friend another senior student, Jon Bloc. True, there was one student, a Mr. Peter L., who began agitating against me for the views that I propounded while at University, views I can no longer remember; and I have to confess that I found his agitation perplexing and irritating because it all seemed rather petty and spiteful at the time.

As my own Witness Statement recalls, at the time of the Anglo-Israeli-French "police action" in

Suez in 1956, I joined student demonstrations on behalf of the Israelis, though for the life of me now I cannot remember why.

When my first book was published, *The Destruction of Dresden*, in 1963, I became uncomfortably aware that I had somehow offended the Jewish community. I did not at the time realize why and I do not fully realize why even today. Whatever the reason, their journalists were in the spearhead of the attack on me. As other books appeared, this polarization among the English critics became more pronounced. I remember the name of Arthur Pottersman, writing for a tabloid newspaper — the Daily Sketch — as being one of the few vicious critics, not of the Dresden book but of my person.

My publisher, Mr. William Kimber, to whom I have earlier referred, recommended to me the services of his lawyer, Mr. Michael Rubinstein, a name with which the older members of this Court may perhaps be familiar. Mr. Kimber said to me in his drawling, affable voice, "You will like Michael. He is Jewish, very Jewish, but a very Christian kind of a Jew — rather like Jesus Christ."

It is the kind of inexplicable sentence that one remembers even now nearly 40 years on down the road of life. I found Michael an enormously capable, energetic and likeable person — indeed very English, his advice always sound, and he stood by me as my Legal Adviser for the next two decades. He had a rhinoceros hide, as I remarked once in my diary — a remark seized upon by the Defendants as evidence of my anti-Semitism!

I also formed a long-term friendship, which exists to this day, with well-known writers like the American David Kahn, an expert on code breaking. Being an author dealing with American and British publishers I frequently came into contact with the Jewish members of the publishing profession.

The editor of *Hitler's War* for the Viking Press Inc. was Stan Hochman, who became, as the correspondence and for all I know also the diaries show, a good friend; Peter Israel, who purchased *Uprising!*, my book on the 1956 Hungarian uprising, was editorial director at Putnam's. And so on.

The Discovery documents show that there was also some kind of relationship between myself and our own George Weidenfeld which was the usual kind of love/hate relationship between authors and publishers. George published several of my books, include my biographies of top Nazis like Field Marshal Erhard Milch and Field Marshal Erwin Rommel, and I do not believe that he made a loss on those operations; behind my back, however, I learned that he made unhelpful remarks about me and I had occasion to write him one or two terse letters about that. But I believe that we are still friends, and my relations with the present Managing Director of Weidenfeld & Nicholson are of the very best.

Those however are all individuals.

Even as I speak of Weidenfeld, it reminds me that during the 1960s and 1970s I became vaguely aware of forces gathering to oppose me. George had originally bought the rights to publish my biography of Adolf Hitler. At some stage Weidenfeld's repudiated the contract. Publishers can always find an excuse to do so if they want, and I was not unhappy as it gave me the chance to offer it to an equally prestigious Publishing House, Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton, for an even larger fee.

At the Frankfurt book fair on October 13, 1973 — my diary entry relates the whole of this — George Weidenfeld sat next to me at dinner and lamented, after a few cocktails, his mistake in "tearing up" the contract for *Hitler's War;* when I asked him why he had done so, he explained, shifting uneasily, "I had to do so. I came under pressure from three Embassies. One of them was a NATO power," which I took to be Germany, "one of them was France and the other was Israel."

It is right that I should state here, and the correspondence shows, that he later denied having said this, but I took a very detailed diary note that same night, which is in my Discovery, the bundle of which (it is marked "Global") we shall look at briefly over the next few days, if your Lordship pleases.

So it became gradually evident — and I have to emphasize that I cannot pin down any particular year in which I finally realized that I was being victimized by this hidden campaign — that I was the target of a hidden international attempt to exclude me, if it could be done, from publishing further works of history.

It did not affect my attitude towards the Jews in the way that perhaps people might have expected it to. I did not go on the stump, up and down the land, vituperating against them.

I merely made a mental note that I had to be on the look-out for trouble. Such trouble had already begun in November 1963 when a three-man squad of burglars, evidently at the commission of the English body to which I earlier made reference, was caught red-handed by the police, whom I had alerted, as they raided my North London apartment, disguised as telephone engineers and equipped with stolen GPO passes.

The leader of that gang, whose name I shall not mention as he is not represented in this Court, told the police that he had hoped to find my secret correspondence with Hitler's henchman, Mr. Martin Bormann! (Perhaps I ought to add that there is no secret correspondence with Bormann.)

I mention this episode for a reason. This gentleman subsequently became editor of a left-wing

"anti-fascist" magazine called *Searchlight*, and he has made it his lifelong task over the intervening 30 years to take his malicious revenge upon me for the criminal conviction which he earned as a result of his felony.

His magazine repeatedly inveighed against me, reporting sometimes true, often part-true but usually totally fictitious rumors about my activities and alleged "Nazi" connections around the world, in an attempt to blacken my name.

I will not say that the rumors are all untrue. They never are. Mr. Winston Churchill once famously said, "The world is full of the most dreadful stories and rumors about me, and the damnable thing about them is that most of them are true!" At least, so rumor has it.

But the untrue ones about me are the ones that have a habit of surfacing again and again, with their original polish undimmed. I mention this case, as the defendants here seek to rely heavily on the outpouring of this troubled soul, the editor of *Searchlight*.

This Court might wonder why I took no action against this journal, or indeed against any of those parties who had defamed me over the years. One of the things that Michael Rubinstein, like Mr. Kimber my publisher, dinned into me very early on was to avoid at all costs taking libel action.

My Lord, I am sure I don't need to labor the reasons why, in this opening statement. Suffice it to say that I had already realized by 1970, at the time of the *Convoy PQ.17* libel action — that is, Broome vs. Cassell — that libel actions are time-consuming, costly, and vexatious, and are indeed in the words of the cliche "to be avoided like the plague."

Besides, this particular magazine had no assets, so any kind of litigation would have been pointless. I might add that only once in recent years have I been forced to take action in this jurisdiction under the Defamation Act, against a major national newspaper four or five years ago, which resulted in an immediate settlement out of Court which I can only describe as most satisfactory; the terms of this settlement are covered by the usual Court Order — though I fancy they are known to the Defendants here, who asked for, and were given, full disclosure of the relevant papers.

It will become evident to this Court from the evidence that I lead over the next few days the international community started to intensify its campaign to destroy me and to truncate my career as an author either before or at about the same time as The Viking Press and other publishers published my well-known biography of Adolf Hitler, *Hitler's War*, in 1977.

The Court will be shown one internal document, dated April 1977, which I have identified as emanating from the Washington files of the so-called Anti-Defamation League, a part of the B'nai Brith, in the United States, which reveals quite unabashedly how they tried to pressure television producers to cancel invitations to me to discuss the *Hitler's War* book on their programs. It failed, the program in question went ahead, and the ADL noted, aghast, in a secret memorandum, that I was well versed in the matters of history, a formidable opponent who could not however be called anti-Semitic.

I would have to be destroyed by other means.

This is a document in my Discovery. By various entirely legal means I obtained several such disturbing documents from within their files.

From them, and in particular from their details registered under the Data Protection Act in this country, it appears that these bodies, which are also embedded in our society in Britain and elsewhere, have seen their task, unbidden, as being to spy upon members of our society, maintain dossiers on us all, and to deploy those dossiers when necessary to smite those of us of whom they disapprove.

As the Court will see, the dossiers are explicitly designed to hold such material on the subjects' personal lives, criminal records, credit delinquencies, marital difficulties, dietary habits, and even sexual proclivities. That is what we know from their details of registration.

It is not anti-Semitic to reveal this. The spying and smearing by these bodies goes on against fellow Jew and non-Jew alike. The Jewish writer Noam Chomsky relates that he found quite by chance that they were "monitoring" — for that is the word they use — him too.

Several of our own most notable personalities have already commented on this unsavory element of British life: in an article in a U.K. magazine the writer Mr. Auberon Waugh remarked upon how he too inadvertently found that such a file was being kept on him.

May I add that these "dossiers" provided by this London body to the Canadians, to the Anti-Defamation League, and to various similar bodies in Australia, South Africa and elsewhere, have been drawn upon heavily and without question by the Defendants in this action, which is my justification, I submit, for drawing your Lordship's attention to this disturbing and sleazy background.

When I attempted to take the libel action against the London-based body that I have mentioned, its director, Mr. Michael Whine, admitted in an Affidavit that his body had taken it upon itself to "monitor" my activities — there was that word again — as he called them for many years: he also freely admitted that when secretly called upon by his Canadian associates in 1992 to provide them with a smear dossier for the purposes of destroying

my presence in Canada, by planting it in government files in Ottawa, he willingly agreed to do so.

This is how that file turned up in Canadian government resources; which in turn is how it came into my hands, years later, through lengthy "Access to Information Act" procedures. Otherwise I would never have known why I found myself being taken in handcuffs aboard an Air Canada flight in 1992, after 30 years as an honored visitor to that country, and deported, an event to which the Defendants make gleeful reference in their book *Denying the Holocaust*.

I may be rather naive, but this kind of thing offends me as an Englishman, as no doubt the idea will offend many of those present in Court 37 today. The notion that a non-governmental body, equipped evidently with limitless financial resources, can take it upon itself to spy upon law-abiding members of the community for the purpose of destroying them is one that I find discomfiting.

I have never done it to my fellow human beings, and I can think only of the wartime Gestapo and its offshoots in Nazi-occupied Europe as a body engaged in similar practices. It is offensive and ugly comparison, I warrant, and one that I have never made before; but in a legal battle of this magnitude, I consider it necessary to use ammunition of the proper caliber.

I now come to the matter of the glass microfiche plates containing the diaries of the Nazi propaganda Minister, Dr. Joseph Goebbels. Your Lordship will have seen from the Statement of Claim that the Defendants accuse me of having improperly obtained these glass plates from the Moscow archives, or damaged them.

May I set out some of the antecedents of this matter? Your Lordship will perhaps remember the widespread newspaper sensation that was caused by the revelation at the beginning of July 1992 that I had succeeded in retrieving from the former KGB archives in Moscow the long lost diaries of Dr. Joseph Goebbels, a close confidant of Hitler and his propaganda minister and successor as Reich Chancellor.

I may say here that scholars have been searching for a number of diaries ever since the end of World War II: I would mention here only the example of the diaries of Hitler's Intelligence Chief, Vice-Admiral Wilhelm Canaris, in the search for which I was concerned in the 1960s and 1970s. (The diaries offered to myself and Messrs. William Collins, Ltd. on that occasion turned out to be fake, which I established by use of the appropriate forensic laboratory in the city of London, Messrs. Hehner & Cox.)

Forensic tests are to play quite a large part in these current proceedings too.

In writing my own biographies of the leading Nazis I have attached importance to primary sources, like the original diaries which they wrote at the time. When I have found these documents, as many scholars know, I have invariably and without delay donated them or copies of them either to the German Federal Archives in Koblenz or to the Institut für Zeitgeschichte [Institute for Contemporary History] in Munich; and, in the case of the Goebbels diaries, after I retrieved them, I additionally gave a set of copies to the archives of München-Gladbach, his home town, where they maintain a collection of Goebbels documents.

In fact the only items which I consider to be of greater source value than diaries, which are always susceptible to faking or tampering, are private letters; in my experience, once a private letter has been posted by its writer, it is virtually impossible for him to retrieve it and to alter its content.

If I may take the liberty of enlightening the Court at this point by way of an example, I would say that I had earlier also found several diaries of Field Marshal Rommel; some I retrieved in shorthand from the American archives, and had them transcribed. Those in typescript turned out to have been altered some months after one crucial battle ("Crusader") to eradicate a tactical error which the Field Marshal considered he had made in the western desert; but the hundreds of letters he wrote to his wife were clearly above any such suspicion.

On a somewhat earthier plane, while the diaries of the Chief of the SS, Heinrich Himmler, which have in part been retrieved recently from the same archives in Moscow, yield little information by themselves, I have managed to locate in private hands in Chicago the 200 letters which this murderous Nazi wrote to his mistress, and these contain material of much larger historical importance.

Until my career was sabotaged therefore I had earned the reputation of being a person who was always digging up new historical evidence; that was until the countries and the archives of the world were prevailed upon, as we shall see, to close their doors to me!

After I procured the 600 pages of manuscripts of Adolf Eichmann in Argentina in October 1991, the German Federal Archives grudgingly referred to me in a press release as a *Truffle-Schwein*, which I hope is more flattering than it sounds.

We are concerned here, however, primarily with the diaries of Dr. Joseph Goebbels of which the Defendants made mention in their book. This is the inside story on those.

I had begun the search for these diaries about 30 years earlier. In my Discovery are papers relating to the first search that I conducted for the very last diaries which Dr. Goebbels dictated, in April 1945 — right at the end of his life; since there was no time

bound shorthand pads buried in a glass conserving jar in a forest somewhere along the road between Hamburg and Berlin.

Chance provided me in about 1969 with the "treasure map" revealing the burial place of this glass jar, and with the permission of the Communist East German government I and a team of Oxford University experts, equipped with a kind of ground penetrating radar (a proton magnetometer in fact) mounted a determined attempt to unearth it in the forest.

We never found that particular truffle. Unfortunately, the topography of such a forest changes considerably in 20 years or more, and despite our best efforts, aided by the East German Ministry of the Interior and a biologist whose task would be to assess the age of the fungi and other biological materials found in and around the jar, we came away empty-handed. This is nothing new. Field work often brings disappointments like that.

Twenty-five years later, I had the conversation which was to lead the retrieval of the Goebbels diaries in Moscow, and indirectly to our presence here in these Courts today.

In May 1992, I invited a long-time friend, a leading historian at the Institut für Zeitgeschichte [Institute for Contemporary History], to have lunch with me at a restaurant in Munich. We had been good friends since 1964, and she is still in the Institute's employ today. As my diaries show, this friend and colleague, Dr. Elke Fröhlich, had dropped several hints during the previous twelve months that she had traced the whereabouts of the missing Goebbels diaries.

We all knew, those of us who had engaged in research in Hitler, Goebbels, and the Third Reich, that Dr. Goebbels had placed these diaries on microfiches — photographic glass plates — in the closing months of the War, to ensure that they were preserved for posterity. But they had vanished since then. His Private Secretary, Dr. Richard Otte, whom I had questioned over 20 years earlier in connection with our search in the forest in East Germany, had told us about these glass plates. I should mention that he was one of the small burial party who had hidden the jar, but he was unable to accompany us, as at that time he was still in West German government employment. We could only presume that the glass plate microfiches were either destroyed in the last weeks of the war, or that they had been seized by the Red Army.

During this lunchtime conversation in Munich in May 1992, Dr. Elke Fröhlich revealed to me that the latter supposition was correct. She had seen them herself a few weeks previously — had held them in her hands! — on a visit to the archives in Moscow.

My recollection of the conversation at this point is, that she continued by saying that the Institute's directors were unwilling to fund a further expedition to procure these diaries.

Now that I have seen some of the documentation provided to the defendants in this action by the Russians and by the Institute, it is possible that my recollection on this point is wrong, namely, that the Institute were not willing to pay for it.

My recollection of the following is however secure: Dr. Fröhlich informed me that the director of the Russian "trophy" archives, as they were known, Dr. Bondarev, was in a serious predicament, as he was faced with the economic consequences of the collapse of the Soviet empire; he no longer had the means necessary for the upkeep of the archives and the payment of his staff.

The plates, in my view, were seriously at risk. Dr. Fröhlich indicated that if I were to take a sufficient sum of foreign currency to Moscow, I could purchase the glass plates from Dr. Bondarev. It was clear from her remarks that Dr. Bondarev had already discussed this prospect with her.

Dr. Fröhlich added that the glass plates were in a fragile condition and needed to be rescued before they came to serious harm. I recall that she said "If you are going to this deal with the Russians, you will have to take a lot of silk paper with you from England, to place between the glass plates. The plates are just packed into boxes — with nothing between them."

I asked how much money we were talking about, and either she or I suggested a figure of 20,000 US dollars. I immediately contacted my American publishers in New York, who seemed the most immediate source of money; I informed them of this likely windfall, and asked if we could increase the cash advance on my *Goebbels* manuscript accordingly.

My manuscript of the Goebbels biography was at that time complete, and undergoing editing by myself. It was already ready for delivery to the publishers.

The American publishers responded enthusiastically at first, and upon my return from Munich to London I began negotiations through intermediaries with the Russian archivist Dr. Bondarev. (Dr. Bondarev will not, unfortunately, be called by either party in this action; he seems to have vanished, and is certainly no longer employed by the "trophy" archives.)

The first intermediary I used was a Russian-language specialist employed by Warburg's Bank in Moscow; he undertook the preliminary negotiations with Dr. Bondarev. I instructed him to tell Bondarev as openly as was prudent of my intention to come and look at the glass plates, and also to make it quite plain that we were coming with a substantial

sum of hard currency. Many American institutions were currently engaged in the same practice, as I knew from the newspapers.

At about this time it became plain that the German government was also keen to get its hands on these glass plates. Naturally I desired to beat them to it: first, because of professional pride, and the desire to have a historical scoop; and secondly, years of working with the German government archives had proven both to me and many scholars that as soon as high-grade documents like these dropped into their hands they vanish for many years while they were assessed and catalogued and indexed; and sometimes they were even squirreled away for later exploitation by the chief archivists themselves (the "Hossbach Papers" were one case in point).

These vital Nazi diaries would therefore vanish from the public gaze possibly for five or ten years; my fears in this respect had been amply confirmed by events, because many of those glass plates which I saw in Moscow in 1992 have since vanished into the maw of the German government and the Munich Institut für Zeitgeschichte and they are still not available even now.

I considered therefore that I should be rendering to the historical community the best service by doing the utmost that I could to extract those glass plates, or failing that copies of them, or failing that copies of the maximum number of pages possible, by hook or by crook, from the KGB archives before a wind of change might suddenly result in the resealing of all these former Soviet archives (and once again this apprehension has been largely confirmed by the attitude of the Russian archive authorities, who have resealed numbers of these files and made them once again inaccessible to Western historians).

The second intermediary upon whom I relied was the former KGB Officer, Lev Bezymenski. I have known Mr. Bezymenski for about 35 years, and over these years we have engaged in a fruitful exercise of exchanging documents: I would hasten to add that the documents which I furnished to Mr. Bezymenski were entirely of a public-domain nature: Mr. Bezymenski in return extracted from Soviet archives for me vital collections of documents, for example, their diplomatic files on Sir Winston Churchill, and the private papers of the commander-in-chief of the German Army, Colonel-General Werner von Fritsch. From the Russian archives I obtained, via Mr. Bezymenski, Fritsch's personal writings during and about the "Blomberg-Fritsch scandal" of 1938, which had historic consequences for Germany, for Hitler and ultimately for the world. I immediately donated a complete set of those Fritsch papers to the German government archives, where they can still be seen.

Dr. Bezymenski proved unfortunately to be something of a "double agent." Fearing that Dr. Bondarev was not properly getting my message, I asked Mr. Bezymenski to approach him, and to inform him that there were certain documents he held in which I was interested, and that I was coming as a representative of the *Sunday Times*, well armed with foreign currency. Mr. Bezymenski inquired what those documents were; I refused to tell him, and he replied, "You are referring to the Goebbels diaries I presume."

This I affirmed. Ten minutes after this telephone conversation from me in London to Mr. Bezymenski in Moscow, I received a telephone call from Dr. Fröhlich in Munich, complaining very bitterly that I had revealed our intentions to Mr. Bezymenski. Instead of acting as I had requested, my friend had immediately sent a fax to the Institut für Zeitgeschichte to alert them to what I was "up to." This set the cat among the pigeons, and the Institut für Zeitgeschichte left no stone unturned to prevent the Russians from providing me with the diaries or other materials, for reasons which this Court can readily surmise.

I had in the meantime approached the *Sunday Times* after my American publishers got cold feet, and I had succeeded in persuading Mr. Andrew Neil that I could obtain The Goebbels Diaries from the Moscow archives, and that I was by chance one of the very few people capable of reading that handwriting.

Two years previously, in 1990, my Italian publisher, Mondadori, had commissioned me to transcribe the hand-written 1938 diary volume of Dr. Goebbels, a copy of which they had purchased from a Russian source. I was thus acquainted with the difficult handwriting of the Nazi propaganda minister. At that time there were probably only three or four people in the world who were capable of deciphering it.

The negotiations with Andrew Neil proceeded smoothly. He did express at one stage nervousness at the prospect of entering into another "Nazi diaries" deal — his newspaper group having been made to look foolish for its purchase and publication in 1983 of the forged "Hitler Diaries." I pointed out that I had warned them in writing months ahead, in 1982, that the diaries were fakes. I added "I am offering the *Sunday Times* the chance to rehabilitate itself!"

Armed with the prestige and the superior financial resources of the *Sunday Times* I went to Moscow in June 1992, and negotiated directly with Dr. Bondarev and his superior, Professor Tarasov, who was at that time the overall head of the Russian Federation Archival System.

Dr. Bondarev expressed willingness to assist us,

although there could no longer be any talk of the clandestine purchase of the plates which we had originally hoped for, since Mr. Bezymenski had let the cat out of the bag. I say "clandestine," but I understand that the same archives sold off many other collections of papers, for example to the Hoover Institution in California, and to US publishing giants, and to my colleague the late John Costello. But my own little deal was not to be.

Professor Tarasov is one of the witnesses in this case, my Lord, and your Lordship will be able to study the documents exhibited by him to his Witness Statement; I confess that I fail to see the relevance of very many of them, but no doubt we shall see that difficulty removed by Mr. Rampton in due course.

The Moscow negotiations were not easy. We negotiated with Professor Tarasov for access to the glass plates. The negotiations were conducted in my presence by Mr. Peter Millar, a freelance journalist working for the *Sunday Times*, who spoke Russian with a commendable fluency. He will also be giving evidence in this action. With my limited "O"-level Russian, I was able to follow the gist in conversation and also to intervene, speaking German, after it emerged that Professor Tarasov had studied and taught for many years at the famous Humboldt University in Communist East Berlin.

By now both Dr. Bondarev and Tarasov were aware, if they had not been aware previously, that these Goebbels diaries were of commercial and historical value. The negotiations took longer than I had expected.

I produced to Professor Tarasov copies of the Soviet edition of my books, which had been published years earlier, and I donated to him, as well as later to the Archives staff, copies of my own edition of the biography *Hitler's War*.

This established my credentials to their satisfaction, and Tarasov gave instructions that we were to be given access to the entire collection of the 'Dr. Goebbel's diaries.'

It was quite evident to me, when I finally saw the glass plates, that the diaries had been hardly examined at all. It seemed to me, for example, from the splinters of glass still trapped between the photographic plates, that there had been little movement in the plates for nearly 50 years; the boxes were the original boxes, the brown paper around them in some parts was still the original brown paper. The plates were in total disarray and no attempt had been made to sort them. I have seen no work of history, Soviet or otherwise, that has quoted from them before I got them.

My excitement as an historian, getting my hands on original material like this, can readily be imagined.

There is now a dispute as to the nature of the Russian permission — and this alleged agreement is one of the issues pleaded by the Defendants in this action.

It is difficult for me to reconstruct seven years later precisely whether there was any verbal agreement exceeding a nod and a wink, or what the terms were, or how rigid an agreement may have been reached. There is no reference to such an agreement in my contemporary diaries. Certainly the Russians committed nothing to paper about such an agreement. Professor Tarasov's word was law, and he had just picked up the phone in our presence and spoken that word to Bondarev.

My own recollection at the time was that the arrangement was of a very free-wheeling nature, with the Russians being very happy, and indeed proud, to help us in the spirit reigning at that time of *glasnost* and *perestroika*, and extreme co-operativeness between West and East; they were keen to give us access to these plates, which they had hitherto regarded as not being of much value. Tarasov did mention that the German government were also interested in these plates, and that they were coming shortly to conduct negotiations about them.

I remember clearly, and I think that this is also shown in the diary which I wrote on that day, that Tarasov hesitated as to whether he should allow us access without first consulting the German authorities; I rather mischievously reminded Dr. Tarasov of which side had won the war, and expressed astonishment that the Russians were now intending to ask their defeated enemy for permission to show to a third party records which were in their own archives, and this unsubtle argument appears to have swayed him to grant us complete access without further misgivings.

There was no signed agreement, either between the Russian authorities and us, or at that time between the Russians and the German Authorities.

I would add here that I was never shown any agreement between the Russians and the German authorities, nor was I told any details of it; nor of course could it have been in any way binding upon me.

We returned to the archives the following morning, Mr. Millar and I, to begin exploiting the diaries.

Millar went off on his own devices. I had brought a German assistant with me to act as a scribe.

Her diary is also in my Discovery, and I admit I have not yet found time to read it (I have an odd aversion to reading other people's diaries). I must admit that I was rather perplexed by the chaotic conditions that I found there — in the Russian archives. There was no technical means whatever of reading the diaries, which the Nazis had reduced to the size of a small postage stamp on the glass plates.

Fortunately, Dr. Fröhlich had alerted me about this possibility, and I had bought at Selfridges [department store] a 12X magnifier, a little thing about the size of a nail clipper, with which by peering very hard I could decipher the handwriting. It was even more alarming to someone accustomed to working in Western archives — with their very strict conditions on how to handle documents, and cleanliness and security — to see the way that the shelves and tables and chairs were littered with bundles of papers; at one stage the Archivist brought in bottles of red wine and loaves of bread and cheese which were scattered among the priceless papers on the tables for us to celebrate the end of the week. That would have been unthinkable in any Western archive building.

My German assistant had worked with me in the US National Archives previously. We spent the first day cataloguing and sifting through all the boxes of glass plates and identifying which plates were which — earmarking, figuratively speaking, the glass plates which were on my shopping list to be read and copied.

Very rapidly, we began coming across glass plates of the most immense historical significance, sections of the diaries which I knew had never been seen by anybody else before. I was particularly interested in the Night of Broken Glass, November 1938, and the Night of Long Knives, June 1934. I also found the glass plates containing the missing months leading up to and including the outbreak of World War II in 1939, diaries whose historical significance need not be emphasized here.

Given the chaotic conditions in the Archives, I took the decision to borrow one of the plates overnight and bring it back the next day, so that we could photograph its contents. I shall argue about the propriety of this action at a later stage. I removed the plate, its contents were printed that night by a photographer hired by the *Sunday Times*, whose name was Sasha, and the glass plate was restored to its box the next morning, without loss or damage.

The *Sunday Times* editor Andrew Neil was coincidentally in Moscow at this time, and I showed him one of the glass plates at his hotel, the Metropol. He stated, "We really need something spectacular to follow the Andrew Morton book on Princess Diana, and this is it!"

The next day Dr. Bondarev formally authorized the borrowing of two more such plates anyway, so it was clear to me that nobody would have been offended by my earlier action.

I returned to London and over the next few days a contract was formalized between myself and the *Sunday Times* under which the newspaper was to pay me £75,000 net for procuring the diaries, transcribing them and writing three chapters based on the principle extracts from the diaries. The contract with the *Sunday Times* contained the usual secrecy clauses — nobody was to learn of the nature of the contract, or its contents, or the price, or of the existence of the diary.

For reasons beyond my knowledge the *Sunday Times*, when it came under extreme pressure from international and British Jewish organizations, subsequently put it about that I had only been hired to transcribe the diaries — with the implication that they had obtained them on their own initiative. I was not, however, just a hired help: this was my project which I took to them and which they purchased, as the documents before this Court make quite plain.

It may be felt that £75,000 would have been a substantial reward for two weeks' work; but my response would be that it was for "30 years plus two weeks' work" — we are paid for our professional skills and expertise and experience and reputation. For our track-record, in short.

I returned to London, with arrangements to revisit Moscow in two or three weeks' time.

The Court will find that I have stipulated, in what I believe is known in legal terms as an Admission, that I carried with me two of the glass plates from the Moscow archives to the *Sunday Times* in London, informally borrowing them in the same manner as previously, namely those vital records recording the 1934 Nazi "Night of Long Knives."

The reasons for doing so I have already hinted at earlier — the fear that they would either vanish into the maw of German government, or be resealed by the former Soviet archives, or be sold off to some nameless American trophy-hunter, and thus never see the light of day again.

I took these two borrowed plates straight to Munich, to the Institute, where I knew that they had a microfiche printer and reading machine; together with the Institute's Dr. Zirngiebel, who was their expert in the archives, we inserted the appropriate lenses in the microfiche printer for a microfiche of this magnification, and I printed out two copies of each of the 100 or so documents on those two microfiches.

There was no secrecy about this. I at once sent two of these pages upstairs to the experts in the Institute itself, and two more to the German Federal Archives, with the written request that they formally identify these pages as being in the handwriting of Dr. Joseph Goebbels. This was a necessary part of agreement with the *Sunday Times*, who were being no less cautious than I.

The other principal reason that I had borrowed these two glass plates temporarily from the Russian archives was in order to put them to London foren-

archives was in order to put them to London forensic experts for the purposes of authentication; in the same manner that others had tested the "Adolf Hitler diaries" and I the Canaris diaries, the *Sunday Times* quite properly wished to have final proof that the glass plates were indeed of wartime manufacture: namely, that the glass was of wartime origin, and that the photographic emulsion was of wartime chemicals.

The Court may marvel at these precautions that we as, as non-scholars, took; but it seemed perfectly natural to me and to the officials of the *Sunday Times*. After all, not only were large sums of money involved but also the reputations of myself and a major international newspaper group. We wished to be absolutely certain.

On my return from Moscow and Munich to London, in June 1992 therefore the two glass plates were sent their separate ways, heavily wrapped and protected; one to an Agfa photographic laboratory which tested the age of the emulsion, in a non-destructive manner, and the other to the Pilkington Glassworks, whose laboratory specialists carried out similar tests on the age of the glass. Their reports are part of my Discovery, and these confirm that the tests were appropriate under the circumstances.

My Lord, if I may just anticipate by a few paragraphs what happened to those two glass plates: I returned to Moscow at the end of June, the glass plates were brought out to Moscow personally by a courier of the *Sunday Times* as soon as the tests on them were complete, and handed to me, standing outside the archives building, as my diary records; and within three minutes I had taken them back into the Archives building and replaced them in the box where they had been for the last 47 years.

What follows is not strictly relevant to the glass plates, but it is relevant to this case and it is best inserted here because of its chronology. When I returned to London with the remaining diaries which the *Sunday Times* had requested, an awkward situation had developed. Our secrecy had been compromised by an astute reporter of The Independent, a Mr. Peter Pringle, who was based in Moscow at the time that I was using the archives. He too has submitted a witness statement, for the Defendants. He stalked me into the archives, confronted me and learned from Dr. Bondarev of my work on the Goebbels diaries.

The resulting scoop in the *The Independent* set the press world about its ears, and before I returned to London on July 4, 1992, the entire Fleet Street press and the broadcast media fell over themselves to print stories about the diaries and my own participation. In order to blacken the name of the *Sunday Times* and its unpopular editor, I was described with every possible epithet.

It is of relevance to this action, in my submission, because the same organizations which had gone to great lengths to furnish the Defendants with the material they needed to blacken my name in the book, *Denying the Holocaust*, now applied heavy pressure to Andrew Neil and to Times Newspapers, Ltd., to violate their contract with me, and to pay me nothing of the monies which were due to me under the contract.

Under this pressure, which Mr. Neil described to me at the time as the worst that he had ever experienced in his life, the *Sunday Times* (having in fact paid me the first installment), welshed on the rest of the payments. I was forced to sue them in these courts for breach of contract. The financial consequences of this violation of the contract, in round terms about £65,000, were serious for me.

When I reviewed all the press clippings, and read all the statements made by these various bodies, boards, campaigns, agencies, and organizations attacking my name both during my absence in Moscow and upon my return, I could only say, sadly, from a lengthening experience: "The gang's all here."

The same gang, whom I loosely describe as the traditional enemies of free speech, were to be seen on the following days behind the metal police barricades thrown up outside my apartment, screaming abuse at myself and other leaseholders in our building, spitting, harassing passers by, and holding up offensive placards and slogans including one reading, in the most execrable taste, "Gas Irving" — it can be seen in the newspaper photos. From the photographs of this demonstration, it appears that representatives of every ethnic and other minority were present in these. It was the most disagreeable experience.

On my second visit to Moscow, as your Lordship will find from the relevant passages of my diary, I found a frostier atmosphere. The boxes with which I had so readily been provided on my previous trip, were said to be "missing" and not found. For three or four days I was unable to do anything, and then one box was released to me, which I devoured rapidly.

On the last day but one it became plain that I had jealous and envious rivals in Munich to thank for the difficulties that the Russians were now making. Dr. Bondarev's secretary came into the reading room and said that there were allegations that I had "stolen" the glass plates. I assured her that while I had borrowed some, every glass plate which had been in my custody was at that moment back in the Archives and that nothing was missing — which was true. I also voluntarily wrote a Statement, which was handed to Dr. Bondarev.

Your Lordship will find that this document in

both Russian and English, in my handwriting, is in the Discovery both of myself and of the Defendants, as an exhibit to the report by Professor Tarasov. Professor Tarasov is to be giving evidence before your Lordship, and I shall examine him with particular pleasure.

Dr. Bondarev's secretary came back a few minutes later, and said that this was just what they required. She now vouchsafed to me the information: "The information came from Munich."

Your Lordship will see from the "information" which came from Munich, which is in the Defendants' Discovery, that the Institut für Zeitgeschichte had faxed to Moscow a particularly hateful letter about me in an attempt to destroy my relationship with the Russians.

However I already had all the documents that had been on my shopping list. Either in longhand, or by dictating them on to a hand-held tape recorder, or typed onto my portable typewriter, or as photocopies of a few pages of November 1938, or as photographic prints obtained from the glass microfiches, I had collected several hundred pages of the most important Goebbels diary entries that had been missing ever since the end of the war, and I see no reason not to be proud of this achievement.

It is indicative of the general attempt to blacken my name, and to silence me, that when I spoke to a meeting organized by my private "supporters' club," the Clarendon Club, on the evening of July 4, 1992 — my return from Moscow — the hall in Great Portland Street was subject to violent demonstrations outside which required a very large police presence to protect the members of my audience. This will be one of the photographs in the bundle that I shall shortly be submitting to your Lordship.

Later on that year when I addressed a further meeting in a West End Hotel, there even more violent demonstrations.

Such demonstrations do not occur spontaneously. Somebody has to pay for the printing and the bill posting and the bus rentals. I might mention that on one of the days that followed I was violently attacked by three men who identified themselves to me as Jews when I was having a Sunday lunch at a public restaurant in Mayfair with my family. They had laid an ambush for me.

I only recently learned that on the Monday morning after my return from Moscow, July 6 [1992], my long-time publishers, Macmillan, Ltd., seeing the clamor and coming under pressure from unnamed members of the Jewish community, panicked and issued secret instructions for the destruction of all remaining stocks of my books, without ever informing me that they had done so.

This particularly repulsive act by a publisher, reminiscent of the Nazis in 1933, cost me of course many tens of thousand of pounds in lost royalties. At the same time as they were taking these secret decisions to destroy all my books, at the cost to themselves of hundreds of thousands of pounds, my editor at Macmillan continued to write me ingratiating letters expressing interest in the early delivery of my *Goebbels* biography.

It was altogether a most unhappy period.

My Lord, I am coming toward the end as you can see. I can add one further brief example of how different is my attitude to such documents as the Goebbels diaries from the attitude of my rivals and the scholars.

Dr. Ralf Günther Reuth approached me, saying that he was preparing a five-volume abridged edition of the other Goebbels diaries for Piper Verlag in Germany and had nothing for 1938. There were large gaps in the other years too. I foolishly allowed him to have photocopies of some of the most important passages which until that moment had been exclusive to myself and my as-yet-unpublished Goebbels biography. The thanks that I received for this generous act were scant indeed.

I provided copies to the German Federal Archives of the entire Goebbels diary extracts that I had brought back from Moscow on July 1, 1993. Ten minutes later the director of the Archives informed me, in extreme embarrassment, that on the instructions of the Federal Ministry of the Interior I was permanently banned from the selfsame Archives forthwith and in perpetuity, which is to my knowledge the only time that such a sanction has been ever been applied to a historian. He explained that this decision had been taken "in the interests of the German people."

I mention these facts, my Lord, to show that it was not just one single action that has destroyed my career but a cumulative, self-perpetuating, rolling onslaught, from every side — engineered by the same people who have propagated the book which is the subject of this action.

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Historical Myth Justifies Golan Heights Occupation

Israeli, Syrian and United States negotiators have recently been meeting to work out an agreement by which Israel will return to Syria the Golan Heights, a portion of territory seized by Israeli forces in 1967.

According to Israeli diplomatic sources and Israeli newspaper reports (early January 2000), the Jewish state's price for the turnover is $20 billion in additional United States military and civilian aid. Much of this aid is to be in the form of sophisticated military equipment, including the Tomahawk cruise missile. (So far Britain is the only foreign country to receive this powerful weapon, which has a range of up to 2,000 kilometers.) Israel is also asking for funding for further weapons systems development, and to offset the cost of resettling 18,000 Jews who have been living on the Heights.

For three decades Israel has cited vital security concerns to justify its seizure of the Golan Heights. Israelis have claimed that from 1948 to June 1967, Syrian military forces repeatedly used the Heights to shell Jewish settlements and installations below. These artillery bombardments, in the widely accepted Israeli and American view, justified Israel's conquest of the Heights in 1967, and its occupation ever since.

Actually, Israel's seizure and occupation of this territory is based on a historical lie. This was frankly acknowledged by Israel General and cabinet minister Moshe Dayan in an interview given in 1976, but which was not made public until April 1997. Dayan, who died in 1981, was a key organizer of Israel's victory in the June 1967 Israel-Arab war.

"I made a mistake in allowing the [Israeli] conquest of the Golan Heights," he said, "As defense minister I should have stopped it because the Syrians were not threatening us at the time." The seizure went ahead, he added, not because Israel was threatened, but in response to pressure from Jews who coveted Syrian land, and from army commanders in northern Israel. "Of course [war with Syria] was not necessary. You can say the Syrians are bastards and attack when you want. But this is not policy. You don't open aggression against an enemy because he's a bastard but because he's a threat."

"At least 80 percent" of the border clashes over nearly two decades associated with the Syrian shellings were initiated by Israel, Dayan continued. "We would send a tractor to plow some [disputed] area ... and we knew in advance that the Syrians would start to shoot. If they didn't shoot, we would tell the tractor to advance further, until in the end the Syrians would get annoyed and shoot. And then we would use artillery and later the air force also, and that's how it was."

"So," a *Washington Post* columnist recently summed up, "on the authority of what you could call an impeachable source, the situation is very different from what is commonly portrayed. Israel, with an appetite for land, for political profit and for strategic depth, was in the Golan instance — not in all instances — an aggressor, not the victim of aggression." (S. Rosenfeld, "Israel and Syria: Correcting the Record," *The Washington Post*, Dec. 24, 1999.

Now, it appears, American taxpayers are once again being called upon to generously reward the Zionist regime for aggression and occupation based on a historical lie.

Israel Given Unique Status in US Satellite Photo Access Policy

The US Congress, in a move that further underscores its deferential support for Jewish-Zionist interests, has given Israel a unique security consideration — one that is not given even to the United States of America.

Two years ago Congress formally approved a law making it illegal for American firms to take high-resolution satellite images of the Zionist state. Israel is the only country in the world to be given this protection by US legislation. John C. Baker, a space policy expert at the Rand Corporation, noted that the ban on satellite photos of Israel is the only exception to the US government's "policy of open skies permitting satellite imagery of the entire earth."

A Colorado firm, Space Imaging, Inc., launched its Ikonos satellite in September 1999, enabling it to provide pictures for sale to the public that will come closer than ever to the quality of US intelligence photographs. The pictures are so good that US intelligence agencies are expected to be among the company's major clients. Its satellite digital color images will be able to depict objects as small as one meter wide from a vantage point 423 miles in space, enabling specialists to distinguish tanks from jeeps on a highway.

(Source: V. Loeb, "Spy Satellite Will Take Photos for Public Sale," *The Washington Post*, Sept. 25, 1999, p. A3.)

Holocaust as Political Industry

Peter Novick [author of the new book, *The Holocaust in American Life*] asserts that the Holocaust has desensitized us to other genocides, but stops short of asking who invented the Holocaust in the first place. Who decided to capitalize the noun "Holocaust" and transform genocide into a political weapon and fund-raising tool?

In America, which had little to do with the event itself, there is an ever-growing Holocaust industry in academia. There is a Holocaust publishing industry and a Holocaust Hollywood. There are Holocaust museums and memorials trying to make concrete what might otherwise become dated and ephemeral. And there is the Holocaust-promoting chorus of wealthy and influential American Jews who make sure we never forget.

"Never forgetting" is the best way to intensify the collective guilt on the part of America's Christian majority and boost the Holocaust industry's favorite political cause — the state of Israel. Guilt, laced with liberally dispensed charges of anti-Semitism for opponents and sweetened with a heavy sprinkling of PAC money, has made the Israel-firsters masters of the executive and legislative branches. Easy and often exclusive access to the media shapes public opinion. And at the end there is a pot of gold: unlimited political and military support plus $6 billion in US taxpayer-provided annual aid to a country that is one of the richest on earth.

Nazis killing Jews has become the paradigm for modern-day genocide, but the Holocaust is hardly unique in the 20th century, which affords numerous examples of mass killing. The politics of mass murder nowadays, as practiced by dictators and democrats alike, all about killing people with words before you actually shoot them. Perversely, the Holocaust is used to justify killing yet more people, i.e. to "prevent another Holocaust."

As Novick notes, George Bush didn't really cite the Holocaust to "disabuse us of Enlightenment illusions about man." He wanted to suggest that men can be evil to justify the bloodshed in the war against Iraq. Nor was George Will debunking the Renaissance illusion that "... man becomes better as he becomes more clever." George is a realist who appreciates the use of *force majeure*, as long as it is not used against him or his friends. And then there's Elie Wiesel, the Nobel laureate high priest of the Holocaust. Never once has Wiesel spoken out against Israel's deplorable treatment of the Palestinians. It's okay to kick an Arab, but never a Jew, and if we keep on reminding the world that the Nazis killed a lot of Jews, we can continue to kick Arabs and no one will say anything.

Rwandans, Biafrans, and Somalis are even lower on the scale than Arabs, and there are fewer journalists standing around watching how you treat them. Why intervene to save them? The Third World is descending into chaos, and they'll only be fighting again before the week is out.

In short, how can anyone deny that most invocations of the Holocaust are cynical and bogus? The Holocaust promoters understand that if you keep saying the same thing over and over again everyone will eventually believe it; i.e., that the Holocaust is the greatest evil in history and justifies special breaks not only for its survivors, but also for their descendants and co-religionists.

Perhaps what is truly unique about the Holocaust is the ability of its exploiters to preemptively silence their critics. Surely within the University of Chicago community there must be many who recognize that the Holocaust industry has gone too far, that the Holocaust is far from being the central event of the century, and that its message of an exclusivity of suffering — serving to promote a Zionist agenda — is dubious at best. But the open expression of such views might be unwise. It is safer to remain silent.

— Philip M. Giraldi (Purcellville, Virginia) and John K. Taylor (Fort Worth, Texas), in a letter published in the *University of Chicago Magazine*, October 1999, pp. 4-5.

Corrections

There are a few errors in the July-August 1999 *Journal* issue.

On page 19, there is a mistake in the caption to the drawing of the "Plan of Auschwitz-Birkenau Crematory Building (*Krema*) II." Item number 5 is incomplete, and should read: "5. Corpse elevator." Only the small central part of the building, where the furnace room joined *Leichenkeller* 1 and 2, had two levels. Also, item 8 is incorrect, and should read: "8. Cellar entrance."

On page 26, note 41, the title of article cited here should be translated as "Hygienic and Physiological [or Physical] Conditions for Building Air Raid Bunkers."

On page 28, note 64 is not quite correct. Burning of rayon alone cannot generate hydrocyanic acid (HCN) because rayon contains no nitrogen (N). The flame retardants added to rayon garments do not serve as a "catalyst" in generation of HCN; rather, they provide the nitrogen.

The Myth of a 'Land Without People for a People Without Land'

ROGER GARAUDY

Immediately following its publication in late 1995, Les mythes fondateurs de la politique israélienne *("The Founding Myths of Israeli Policy"), touched off a storm of controversy. Its octogenarian Communist-turned-Muslim author had taken aim at the historical legends cited for decades to justify Zionism and the Jewish state, including the most sacred of Jewish-Zionist icons, the Holocaust extermination story.* (Les mythes *was reviewed in the March-April 1996* Journal, *pp. 35-36.)*

Roger Garaudy brought impressive credentials to this task. During the Second World War he was active in the anti-German Résistance (for which he was arrested and interned). Afterwards he joined the powerful French Communist Party, soon making a name for himself as a Communist deputy in the French National Assembly, and as a leading Marxist intellectual and theoretician. Later he broke with Communism and became a Muslim.

Soon after the publication of Les mythes, he was charged with violating France's notorious Gayssot law, which makes it a crime to "contest" the "crimes against humanity" as defined by the Nuremberg Tribunal of 1945-46. A Paris court found him guilty and, on February 27, 1998, fined him 240,000 francs ($40,000). His trial and conviction for Holocaust heresy prompted wide international support, above all from across the Arab and Muslim world. (See: T. O'Keefe, "Origin and Enduring Impact of the 'Garaudy Affair'," July-August 1999 Journal, *pp. 31-35; R. Faurisson, "On the Garaudy/Abbé Pierre Affair," July-August 1997* Journal, *pp. 26-28.)*

In the following essay, adapted from the forthcoming IHR edition of The Founding Myths of Modern Israel, *Garaudy takes on a key historical myth used to justify the founding of Israel, and its ongoing policies of discrimination and oppression.*

— The Editor

Zionist ideology rests on a very simple postulate: it is written in Genesis (15:18): "... the Lord made a covenant with Abraham, saying, 'To your descendants I give this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river Euphrates,...'"

Starting from this, without asking themselves what the covenant consisted of, to whom the promise had been made, or if the Lord's choice had been unconditional, the Zionist leaders, even the agnostics and atheists, proclaimed: Palestine was given to us by God.

The statistics, even those of the Israeli government, show that 15 percent of Israelis are religious. This doesn't stop the other 85 percent from also claiming that this land had been given to them by God ... in whom they don't believe.

The great majority of modern Israelis neither practice nor believe in a religion, while the different "religious parties," despite comprising only a small minority of the Jewish population, play an important role in the state. This apparent paradox is explained by Nathan Weinstock in his book *Le sionisme contre Israël* ("Zionism Against Israel"):

> If rabbinical obscurantism prevails in Israel, it is because the Zionist mystique is coherent only in light of the Mosaic religion. Take away the concepts of a "Chosen People" and a "Promised Land," and the foundation of Zionism crumbles. This is why the religious parties paradoxically draw their strength from the complicity of agnostic Zionists. The inner cohesion of Israel's Zionist structure has compelled its leaders to strengthen the power of the rabbisIt was the social democratic "Mapai" party, not the religious parties, which, atBen-Gurion's prodding, made courses in religious instruction an obligatory part of the school curriculum.
>
> **Weinstock, *Le sionisme contre Israël*, 1969, p. 315**

> This country exists as the fulfillment of apromise made by God Himself. It would be ridiculous to ask Him to account for its legitimacy. Such is the basic axiom formulated by Mrs. Golda Meir.
>
> ***Le Monde*, October 15, 1971**

Begin restated this as:

> This land has been promised to us and we have

a right to it.

Begin's statement at Oslo, *Davar*, December 12, 1978

> If you have the Book of the Bible, and the People of the Book, then you also have the Land of the Bible — of the Judges and of the Patriarchs in Jerusalem, Hebron, Jericho and thereabouts.

Moshe Dayan, *Jerusalem Post*, August 10, 1967

Significantly, Ben-Gurion evoked the American "precedent" in which, over the course of a century, the frontier continuously advanced westward, all the way to the Pacific, where the "closing of the frontier" was proclaimed, thanks to the success of the "Indian wars" in driving off the original Americans and seizing their lands.

Ben-Gurion made it very clear:

> To maintain the status quo will not do. We have set up a dynamic state, bent on expansion.

Ben-Gurion, *Rebirth and Destiny of Israel*, p. 419

Zionist policy has corresponded to this singular theory: take the land and drive out the inhabitants, as did Joshua, the successor to Moses.

Menachem Begin, the Israeli leader most profoundly imbued with biblical tradition, declared:

> Eretz Israel will be restored to the people of Israel. All of it. And for ever.

Begin, *The Revolt: The History of Irgun*, p. 33

Thus, from the outset, the State of Israel places itself above all international law.

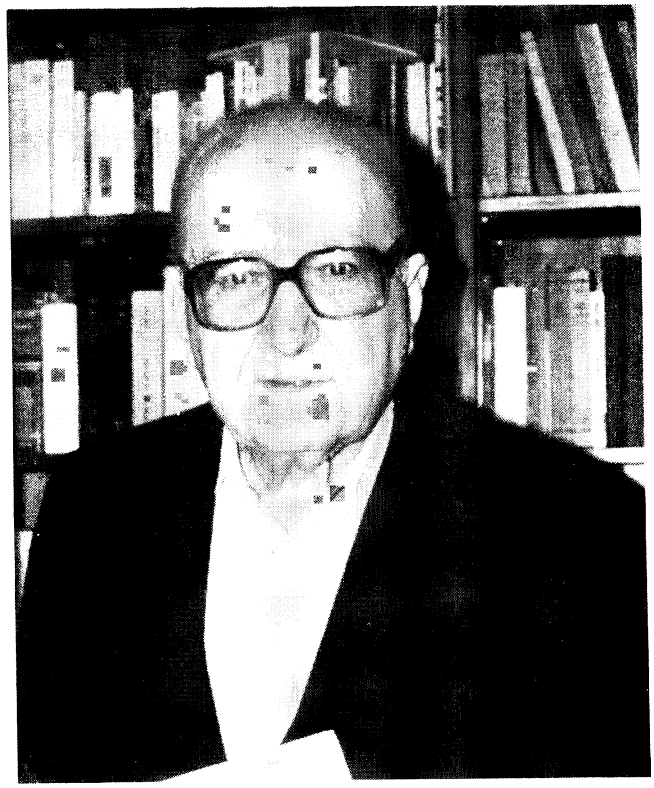
Imposed on the United Nations May 11, 1949, by the will of the United States, the State of Israel was only admitted on three conditions:

1. That the status of Jerusalem would not be tampered with;
2. That the Palestinian Arabs would be allowed to return to their homes;
3. That the borders established by the partition decision would be respected.

Commenting on the UN resolution to "partition" Palestine, adopted long before Israel's admission, Ben-Gurion declared:

> The State of Israel considers the UN resolution of November 29, 1947, to be null and void.

***New York Times*, December 6, 1953**



Roger Garaudy

Echoing the concept of a parallel between American and Zionist expansion, General Moshe Dayan wrote:

> Take the American Declaration of Independence. It contains no mention of territorial limits. We are not obliged to fix the limits of the State.

***Jerusalem Post*, August 10, 1967**

Israeli policy corresponds precisely to the law of the jungle: the UN resolution mandating the partition of Palestine was never honored.

The resolution on the partition of Palestine, adopted by the UN General Assembly (at that time made up almost entirely of Western nations) on November 29, 1947, signaled the West's designs on its "forward stronghold": on that date, the Jews were 32 percent of the population and owned 5.6 percent of the land. Partition awarded them 56 percent of Palestine, including the most fertile land. The terms of the partition were agreed to by the General Assembly under pressure from the United States.

President Harry Truman exerted unprecedented pressure on the State Department. Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles wrote:

> By direct order of the White House every form

of pressure, direct and indirect, was brought to bear by American officials ... to make sure that the necessary majority would be at length secured.

Sumner Welles, *We Need Not Fail*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1948, p. 63

The secretary of defense at that time, James Forrestal, confirmed:

... The methods that had been used ... to bring coercion and duress on other nations in the General Assembly bordered closely on to scandal.

James Forrestal, *Forrestal's Memoirs*, New York: Viking, 1951, p. 363

The power of private monopolies was mobilized.

Drew Pearson, in the *Chicago Daily News* of February 9, 1948, provided some details:

Harvey Firestone, owner of rubber plantations in Liberia, used his influence with the Liberian government ...

Beginning in 1948, the Israelis violated these pro-Zionist decisions.

The Israeli leaders took advantage of the Arabs' refusal to accept such injustice by grabbing new territories, notably Jaffa and Acre — so much so that by 1949, the Zionists controlled 80 percent of the country and 770,000 Palestinians had been driven out.

The method was terror.

The most striking instance was at Deir Yassin, on April 9, 1948: 254 inhabitants of this village (men, women, children, and the elderly) were massacred by troops of the Irgun, led by Menachem Begin, by methods indistinguishable from those the Nazis used at Oradour.

In his book *The Revolt: The History of Irgun*, Begin wrote that there would have been no security for the State of Israel without the "victory" of Deir Yassin (p. 162). He added:

Meanwhile, the Haganah was carrying out successful attacks on the other fronts ... The Arabs began fleeing in panic, shouting: "Deir Yassin!"

Begin, *Revolt*, p. 165

Any Palestinian who left his residence before August 1, 1948 was considered "absent."

In this way, two thirds of the land owned by the Arabs (70,000 hectares out of 110,000) was confiscated. When the law on landed property was passed in 1953, compensation was fixed at the value of the land in 1950; in the interim the Israeli pound had dropped to a fifth of its value.

Moreover, from the beginning of Jewish immigration (here again in the truest colonialist style), land was bought from feudal, non-resident landowners (the "effendis"). Through arrangements between the former masters and the new occupants, the poor peasants, the fellahin, who had no say in the matter, were evicted. Deprived of their land, there was nothing left for them but to flee.

The United Nations appointed a mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte of Sweden. In his first report, Count Bernadotte wrote:

It would offend basic principles to prevent these innocent victims of the conflict from returning to their homes, while Jewish immigrants flood into Palestine and, furthermore, threaten, in a permanent way, to take the place of the Arab refugees who have been rooted in this land for centuries.

He described

Zionist pillaging on a grand scale and the destruction of villages without apparent military necessity.

This report (UN Document A, 648, p. 14) was filed on September 16, 1948. On September 17, 1948, Count Bernadotte and his French assistant, Colonel Serot, were assassinated in the part of Jerusalem occupied by the Zionists.

It was not the first Zionist crime against someone who criticized their treachery.

Lord Moyne, the British secretary of state in Cairo, declared on June 9, 1942, in the House of Lords that the Jews were not the descendants of the ancient Hebrews and that they had no "legitimate claim" on the Holy Land. A proponent of curtailing immigration into Palestine, he was accused of being "an implacable enemy of Hebrew independence."

In Isaac Zaar, *Rescue and Liberation: America's Part in the Birth of Israel*, New York: Bloch, 1954, p. 115

On November 6, 1944, Lord Moyne was assassinated in Cairo by two members of the Stern Gang (Yitzak Shamir's group).

Years later, on July 2, 1975, *The Evening Star* of Auckland revealed that the bodies of the two executed assassins had been exchanged for twenty Arab prisoners for burial at the "Heroes' Monument" in Jerusalem. The British government deplored that Israel should honor the assassins and make heroes of them.

On July 22, 1946, the wing of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem occupied by the British civil and

military authorities for Palestine was blown up, causing the deaths of nearly a hundred people, British, Arabs, and Jews. The Irgun, Begin's group, had carried out the attack, and claimed responsibility.

The State of Israel replaced the British colonialists, then used their methods. For example, agricultural aid for irrigation was distributed in a discriminatory fashion, so that Jewish landholders were systematically favored. Between 1948 and 1969, the area of irrigated land rose, for the Jewish sector, from 20,000 to 164,000 hectares; for the Arab sector, from 800 to 4,100 hectares. The colonial system was thus perpetuated, growing even more oppressive: Doctor Rosenfeld, in his book *Arab Migrant Workers*, published by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 1970, recognized that Arab agriculture had been more prosperous during the British mandate than it was under the Israelis.

Segregation also figures in housing policy. The president of the Israeli Human Rights League, Doctor Israel Shahak, a professor at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, relates in his book *Le racisme de l'État d'Israël* ("The Racism of the Israeli State") (Paris: G. Authier, 1975, p. 57), that in Israel there are whole towns (Carmel, Nazareth, Illith, Hatzor, Arad, Mitzphen-Ramen, and others) where non-Jews are forbidden by law to live.

In cultural matters the same colonialist spirit reigns.

> In 1970, the Minister of National Education proposed two different versions of the prayer "Yizkor" for high school students. One version proclaimed that the death camps had been built by "the diabolical Nazi government and the German nation of murderers." The second version alluded more generally to "the German nation of murderers...." Both contain a paragraph ... calling on God "to avenge before our eyes the blood of the victims."
>
> **"Ce sont mes frères que je cherche," Ministry of Education and Culture, Jerusalem, 1990**

This culture of racial hatred has borne fruit:

> "In the wake of Kahane, we heard more and more about soldiers who, exposed to the history of the Holocaust, were planning all sorts of ways to exterminate the Arabs," recalled education-corps officer Ehud Praver. "It concerned us very much, because we saw that the Holocaust was legitimizing the appearance of Jewish racism. We learned that it was necessary to deal not only with the Holocaust but also with the rise of fascism and to explain what racism is and what dangers it holds for democracy." According to Praver, "... too many soldiers were deducing that the Holocaust justifies every kind of disgraceful action."
>
> **Tom Segev, *Seventh Million*, p. 407**

The problem had been expressed very clearly even before the State of Israel came to be. The director of the Jewish National Fund, Yossef Weitz, wrote in 1940:

> It should be clear to us that there is no room for two peoples in this country. If the Arabs leave it, that will satisfy us ... There is no other way but to remove them all; there must not be a single village left, or a single clan ... It must be explained to Roosevelt and to all the heads of friendly states that the land of Israel is not too small if all the Arabs leave and if the borders are pushed back a little to the north, as far as the Litani, and toward the east, to the heights of the Golan.
>
> **Yossef Weitz, *Diary and Letters to My Sons*, Tel Aviv, 1965**

In the major Israeli newspaper *Yediot Aharonot* (July 14, 1972), Yoram Ben-Porat forcefully reminded Israelis of the Zionist objective:

> It is the duty of Israeli leaders to explain clearly and courageously for public opinion a certain number of facts which time causes to be forgotten. The first of these is that there is no Zionism, colonization or Jewish State without the eviction of the Arabs and the expropriation of their land.

Here again we observe the most exacting logic of the Zionist system: How to create a Jewish majority in a country populated by a native Palestinian Arab community?

Political Zionism provided the only solution possible within the framework of its colonialist program: create a settler colony while driving out the Palestinians and promoting Jewish immigration.

Driving out the Palestinians and taking over their land was a deliberate and systematic undertaking.

At the time of the Balfour Declaration of 1917, the Zionists possessed only 2.5 percent of the land; at the time UN resolution to partition Palestine in 1947, they had 6.5 percent. By 1982, they possessed 93 percent.

The methods used to dispossess the natives of their land have been those of the most ruthless colonialism, with Zionism adding an even more pronouncedly racist taint.

The first stage bore all the hallmarks of classic

colonialism: exploitation of the local work force. This was Baron Édouard de Rothschild's metier: just as he had previously exploited the cheap labor of the *fellahin* on his vineyards in Algeria, in Palestine he simply enlarged his sphere of activity, exploiting other Arabs in his vineyards there.

A turning point occurred with the arrival from Russia of a new wave of immigrants following the failure of the Revolution of 1905. Instead of carrying on the fight there, side by side with other Russian revolutionaries, the deserters of the defeated revolution imported a strange Zionist socialism into Palestine. They created production and service cooperatives and agricultural kibbutzes, excluding the Palestinian *fellahin* in order to create an economy based on a Jewish working and agricultural class. From a classical colonialism (of the English or French type), Palestine passed to a settlement colony in the logic of political Zionism, involving an influx of immigrants "for" whom, and "against" no one (accordingly to Professor Klein), land and work had to be provided. From this point on, it was a matter of replacing the Palestinian people with another, and, naturally, of taking their the land.

The starting point of this great operation was the creation, in 1901, of the Jewish National Fund, which had a feature novel even to settler colonialism: the land which the JNF acquired could not be resold, or even rented, to non-Jews.

Two other laws concern the Keren Kayemet (Jewish National Fund; law passed on November 23, 1953) and the Keren Hayesod (Foundation Fund; law passed on January 10, 1956). "These two laws," writes Professor Klein, "permitted the transformation of these societies, which found themselves benefitting from certain privileges" (Klein, *Caractère juif*, pp. 20-21). Without enumerating these privileges, he introduces, as a simple "observation," the fact that lands obtained by the National Jewish Fund were then declared "Lands of Israel," and a law was enacted to decree the inalienability of these lands. This law is one of Israel's four "fundamental laws" passed in 1960 (elements of a future constitution, which still does not exist, fifty years after the creation of Israel). It is unfortunate that the learned lawyer, usually attentive to detail, made no comment on this "inalienability." He does not even define it: a piece of land "reclaimed" by the Jewish National Fund ("land redemption") is a land which has become "Jewish"; it can never be sold to a "non-Jew," nor rented to a "non-Jew," nor worked by a "non-Jew."

Can it be denied that this fundamental law is discriminatory?

Israel's agrarian policy is one of systematic plundering of the Arab peasantry.

The property law of 1943, on expropriation in the public interest, is a relic from the time of the British mandate. This law is perverted from its original intent when it is applied in a discriminatory way, as, for example, in 1962, when 500 hectares were expropriated at Deir El-Arad, Nabel and Be'neh, where the "public interest" consisted of creating the town of Carmel, which was reserved exclusively for Jews.

Another procedure involved the use of "emergency laws," decreed in 1945 by the British against both Jews and Arabs. Law 124 gives the military governor the authority, this time under the pretext of "security," to suspend all civil rights, including freedom of movement. The army has only to declare an area off limits, "for reasons of state security," in order to prevent an Arab from entering his land without authorization from the military governor. If authorization is refused, the land is then declared "uncultivated" and the ministry of agriculture can "take possession of uncultivated land in order to ensure its cultivation."

When the British enacted this savagely colonialist legislation to fight Jewish terrorism in 1945, the lawyer Bernard (Dov) Joseph, protesting against this system of "arbitrary warrants," declared:

> Are we all to be subjected to official terror?... No citizen can be safe from imprisonment for life without trial ... the power of the administration to exile anyone is unlimited ... it is not necessary to commit any type of infraction, a decision made in some office is sufficient ...

The same Bernard (Dov) Joseph, after he became Israeli minister of justice, applied these laws against Arabs.

J. Shapira criticized the British emergency laws at the same protest meeting at which Joseph spoke out, on February 7, 1946, in Tel Aviv (*Hapraklit*, February 1946, pp. 58-64), declaring even more forcefully: "The order established by this legislation is without precedent in civilized countries. There were no such laws even in Nazi Germany." The selfsame Shapira became the State of Israel's chief prosecutor, then its minister of justice, and enforced the same laws he had denounced, against the Arabs.

To justify the permanence of these repressive laws, "the state of emergency" has not been lifted in the State of Israel since 1948.

Shimon Peres wrote in the newspaper *Davar* (January 25, 1972):

> The use of Law 125, on which military government is founded, follows directly from the struggle for Jewish settlement and immigration.

The 1948 law on the cultivation of fallow lands,

amended in 1949, is even more repressive: without so much as the pretext of "public utility" or "military security," the minister of agriculture can requisition any abandoned land. The massive exodus of Arabs fleeing Israeli terror tactics, such as at Deir Yassin in 1948, Kafr Kassem on October 29, 1956, or the "pogroms" of "Unit 101," created by Moshe Dayan and long commanded by Ariel Sharon, "liberated" vast areas. Cleared of their Arab owners or cultivators, they were handed to Jews.

The mechanisms for the dispossession of the *fellahin* were completed by the law of June 30, 1948; the emergency decree of November 15, 1948 on property of "absentees"; the law relating to lands of "absentees" (March 14, 1950); the law on the acquisition of land (March 13, 1953); and a whole arsenal of measures tending to legalize theft by pressuring the Arabs to leave their land in order to establish Jewish colonies, as Nathan Weinstock makes clear in *Le sionisme contre Israël*.

To obliterate even the memory of the Palestinian agricultural population and to give credence to the myth of the "desert," the Arab villages were destroyed: their homes, their fences and even their graveyards and tombs. In 1975, Professor Israel Shahak gave, district by district, a listing of 385 Arab villages destroyed, bulldozed, out of the 475 that had existed in 1948.

> To convince us that before Israel, Palestine was a "desert," hundreds of villages were razed by bulldozer with their houses, their fences, their graveyards and tombs.
>
> **Shahak, *Racisme*, pp. 152ff.**

The Israeli settlements have continued to multiply, with a new lease on life since 1979 on the West Bank, and, in accordance with the most classic colonialist traditions, the settlers are always armed.

The overall result is that after having expelled a million and a half Palestinians, "Jewish land," — as the people of the Jewish National Fund call it — no more than 6.5 percent in 1947, today represents more than 93 percent of Palestine (of which 75 percent belongs to the state and 14 percent to the National Fund).

The outcome of this operation was remarkably (and significantly) summarized in the Afrikaner newspaper, *Die Transvaler*, well versed in matters of racial discrimination (apartheid):

> What is the difference between the way in which the Jewish people struggle to remain who they are in the midst of non-Jewish populations, and the way Afrikaners are trying to remain what they are?
>
> **Henry Katzew, *South Africa: A Country Without Friends*, quoted in R. Stevens, *Zionism, South Africa and Apartheid***

The system of apartheid manifests itself in the regulation of individuals no less than it does in the appropriation of land. The "autonomy" which the Israelis want to grant the Palestinians is the equivalent of the "homelands" for the blacks in South Africa.

Analyzing the consequences of the Law of "Return," Klein raises a question:

> If the Jewish people are a large majority in the State of Israel, inversely, one can say that the entire population of the State of Israel is not Jewish, since the country has a sizeable non-Jewish minority, mainly Arab and Druze. The question which arises is to what extent the existence of a Law of Return, which favors the immigration of one part of the population (defined by its religious and ethnic affiliation), can not be regarded as discriminatory.
>
> **Klein, *Caractère juif*, p. 33**

The author wonders in particular whether the International Convention on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination (adopted December 21, 1965, by the General Assembly of the United Nations) applies to the Law of Return.

By a dialectic of which we shall let the reader be the judge, the eminent lawyer concludes with this subtle distinction: in matters of non-discrimination,

> a measure must not be directed against one particular group. The Law of Return was created for Jews who want to settle in Israel; it is not directed against any group or nationality. One cannot see how this law would discriminate.
>
> **Klein, *Caractère juif*, p. 35**

For the reader who might risk being led astray by this, to say the least, audacious logic — which calls to mind the famous witticism that all citizens are equal but some are more equal than others — let us make the situation created by this Law of Return very clear. The Law of Nationality (5712/1952) specifies those who are not to benefit from the "right of return" in Article 3: "any individual who, immediately before the founding of the State, was a Palestinian subject, and who didn't become an Israeli by virtue of Article 2" (which concerns the Jews). Those referred to by this circumlocution (and who are considered to have "never had any previous national-

ity," in other words, were stateless persons) must prove they were living in Palestine over a given period (documentary proof is often impossible because the papers disappeared during the war and the terror which accompanied the establishment of the Zionist state). Failing this, in order to become a citizen, the "naturalization" route requires, for example, "a certain knowledge of the Hebrew language." After which, "if he judges it useful," the minister of the interior grants (or refuses) Israeli nationality. In short, in Israeli law, a Jew from Patagonia becomes an Israeli citizen the moment he sets foot in Tel Aviv airport; a Palestinian, born in Palestine, of Palestinian parents, can be considered a man or woman without a country. No racial discrimination "against" the Palestinians here — simply a measure "for" Jews!

It therefore seems difficult to contest the UN General Assembly's resolution of November 10, 1975 (Resolution 3379-XXX) classifying Zionism as "... a form of racism and racial discrimination."

In actuality, only a tiny minority of those who settled in Israel have come to fulfill "the promise." The Law of Return has had very little effect. This is fortunate, because in every country of the world Jews have played an eminent role in every area of culture, science, and the arts, and it would be deplorable for Zionism to attain the objective the anti-Semites have longed for: to remove the Jews from their respective homelands in order to insulate them in a world ghetto. The example of the French Jews is significant: after the Évian agreements of 1962 leading to the independence of Algeria, of 130,000 the Jews who left Algeria, only 20,000 went to Israel, while 110,000 went to France. This emigration was not the result of anti-Semitic persecution, for the proportion of non-Jewish French colonists who left Algeria was the same. The reason for their departure was not anti-Semitism but the end of French colonialism. The Algerian French Jews experienced the same fate as the other French people in Algeria.

To summarize: Nearly all Jewish immigrants to Israel came to escape anti-Semitic persecution.

In 1880, there were 25,000 Jews in Palestine, out of a population of 500,000.

Starting in 1882, massive immigration began in response to the great pogroms of Tsarist Russia.

From 1882 to 1917, 50,000 Jews arrived in Palestine. Then, between the two wars, came the Polish immigrants and those from the Maghreb (the Mediterranean coast of Africa), who were escaping persecution.

The greatest number, however, came from Germany as a result of Hitler's vile anti-Semitism. Altogether, almost 400,000 Jews arrived in Palestine before 1945.

In 1947, on the eve of the creation of the State of Israel, there were 600,000 Jews in Palestine, out of a total population of 1,250,000.

And so began the systematic uprooting of the Palestinians. Before the 1948 war, about 650,000 Arabs lived in the territory which was to become the State of Israel. In 1949, only 160,000 remained. Yet, due to a high birth rate, their descendants numbered 450,000 at the end of 1970. The Israeli Human Rights League revealed that between June 11, 1967 and November 15, 1969, more than 20,000 Arab houses were dynamited in Israel and on the West Bank.

At the time of the British census of December 31, 1922, there were 757,000 people living in Palestine, of whom 663,000 were Arabs (590,000 Muslim Arabs and 73,000 Christian Arabs) and 83,000 Jews (which is to say: 88 percent Arabs and 11 percent Jews). It is to be remembered that this so-called "desert" was an exporter of cereals and citrus fruits.

As early as 1891, one of the first Zionists, Asher Ginsberg (writing under the pseudonym Ahad Haam, "One of the People"), visiting Palestine, gave this account:

> Abroad, we are accustomed to believing that Eretz-Israel is currently almost all desert, without cultivation, and that whoever wants to acquire land can come here and get as much as his heart desires. But the truth is nothing like this. Throughout the length and breadth of the country, it is difficult to find any fields which are not cultivated. The only non-cultivated areas are fields of sand and rocky mountains where only fruit trees can grow, and this, only after hard work and a lot of effort in clearing and reclamation.
>
> **Ahad Haam, *Complete Works* (in Hebrew), Tel Aviv: Devir, 8th edition, p. 23**

In reality, before the Zionists, the "bedouins" (who were in fact settled farmers) were exporting 30,000 tons of wheat per year. The area of Arab orchards tripled between 1921 and 1942, that of orange and other citrus fruit groves multiplied seven-fold between 1922 and 1947, and production rose ten-fold between 1922 and 1938.

So rapid was the growth of Palestine's orange industry that in 1937 the Peel Report, presented to the British Parliament by the secretary of state for the colonies, estimated that over the next decade Palestine would grow half the world's winter oranges, as shown in the following table (the figures refer to crates of oranges):

Palestine	15 million
United States	7 million
Spain	5 million
Other Countries (Cyprus, Egypt, Algeria, etc.)	3 million

Great Britain, Colonial Office, Palestine Royal Commission Report ("Peel Report"), (Cmd. 5479), 1937, chapter 8, § 19, p. 214

According to a US State Department study submitted to a congressional committee on March 20, 1993:

> ... more than 200,000 Israelis are now settled in the occupied territories (including the Golan Heights and East Jerusalem). They constitute "approximately" 13% of the total population of these territories.

Some 90,000 of them reside in 150 settlements on the West Bank, "... where the Israeli authorities control about half of the territory."

"In East Jerusalem and in the outlying Arab suburbs of the city," continues the State Department study,

> ... approximately 120,000 Israelis are settled in some twelve districts. In the Gaza Strip, where the Jewish State has confiscated 30 percent of an already over-populated territory, 3,000 Israelis reside in about 15 settlements. On the Golan Heights, there are 12,000, scattered among approximately 30 locations.

***Le Monde*, April 18, 1993**

Le Monde cited the following report which originally appeared in the daily newspaper *Yediot Aharonot*, which has the largest circulation in Israel:

> Since the 70's, there has never been such an acceleration in construction within the territories. Ariel Sharon (Minister of Housing and Construction), is feverishly busy establishing new settlements, developing those which already exist, building roads and preparing new sites for construction.

***Le Monde*, April 18, 1993**

(Recall that Ariel Sharon was the general in command of the invasion of Lebanon, who armed the Phalangist militias that carried out the massacres in the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila. Sharon turned a blind eye to these cowardly slaughters and was complicit in them, as even the Israeli commission appointed to investigate the killings determined).

The maintenance of the Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, their protection by the Israeli army and by armed settlers (like the frontiersmen of the American "Wild West" a century ago), makes any real Palestinian "autonomy" — and thus any hope for a genuine peace — impossible. They will remain impossible as long as the occupation continues.

The main thrust of colonialist settlement has been directed at Jerusalem and its environs, with the declared goal of making the decision to annex the whole of Jerusalem irrevocable — although that has been condemned unanimously by the United Nations (including the United States!).

The colonialist settlements in the occupied territories are a flagrant violation of international law, specifically the Geneva Convention of August 12, 1949, Article 49 of which stipulates:

> The occupying power cannot undertake a transfer of a part of its own civil population into the territory which it occupies.

The pretext of "security," such as from the "terrorism" of the intifada, is illusory: the statistics in this regard are eloquent:

> 1,116 Palestinians have been killed since the beginning of the intifada ... on December 9, 1987, by shootings by soldiers, policemen or settlers. There were 626 deaths in 1988 and 1989, 134 in 1990, 93 in 1991, 108 in 1992 and 155 from January 1 to September 11, 1993. Among the victims have been 233 children under the age of 17, according to a study carried out by Betselem, the Israeli association for human rights.
>
> Military sources give a figure of nearly 20,000 for the number of Palestinians wounded by bullets, and the UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian refugees (UNRWA) gives a figure of 90,000.
>
> Thirty-three Israeli soldiers have been killed since December 9, 1987: four in 1988, four in 1989, one in 1990, two in 1991, eleven in 1992 and eleven in 1993.
>
> Forty civilians, mostly settlers, have been killed in the occupied territories, according to

figures provided by the Army.

> According to the humanitarian organizations, in 1993, 15,000 Palestinians were being held in civil and military prisons detention centers.
>
> Twelve Palestinians have died in Israeli prisons since the beginning of the intifada, some under circumstances which, according to Betselem, have not yet been clarified. This humanitarian organization also indicates that at least 20,000 detainees are tortured every year during interrogation in the military detention centers.
>
> ***Le Monde*, September 12, 1993**

So many violations of international law, treated like a "worthless scrap of paper" — all the more so, as Professor Israel Shahak writes:

> ... because these settlements, by their very nature, partake of a system of plunder, discrimination and apartheid.
>
> **Shahak, *Racisme*, p. 263**

Here is Professor Israel Shahak's testimony on the idolatry which consists of replacing the God of Israel with the State of Israel:

> I am Jew who lives in Israel. I consider myself a law-abiding citizen. I do my time in the army every year even though I am over forty years old. But I am not "devoted" to the State of Israel or any other state or organization! I am attached to my ideals. I believe that one must tell the truth and do what is necessary to preserve justice and equality for all. I am attached to the Hebrew language and poetry, and I like to think that I modestly respect some of the values of our ancient prophets.
>
> But make a cult of the State? I can well imagine Amos or Isaiah if they had been asked to make a cult of the kingdom of Israel or Judea!
>
> Jews believe, and repeat three times a day, that a Jew must be devoted to God and to God alone: "You will love Yahweh, your God, with all your heart, with all your soul and with all your might" (Deuteronomy 6:5). A small minority still believes in this. But it seems to me that most people have lost their God and replaced Him with an idol, as when they worshipped the golden calf in the desert so much that they gave up all their gold to make a statue of it. The name of their modern idol is the State of Israel.
>
> **Shahak, *Racisme*, p. 93**

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"There was no such thing as Palestinians ... It was not as though there was a Palestinian people in Palestine considering itself as a Palestinian people, and we came and threw them out and took their country away from them. They did not exist."

— Golda Meir, interview in *The Sunday Times*, June 15, 1969

No Punishment for Polish 'Holocaust Denier'

A Polish court has decided not to punish a history professor for a "Holocaust denial" book that presents arguments questioning aspects of the familiar Six Million extermination story.

On December 7, 1999, the regional court in Opole, in southern Poland, found that Dariusz Ratajczak supported revisionist views on the Holocaust issue in his book, *Tematy Niebezpieczne* ("Dangerous Themes"). But it decided not to punish the 37-year-old historian because the self-published volume had limited distribution and was not damaging enough to warrant punishment under a Polish statute that outlaws "public denial" of German wartime crimes. The court called the book "merely a minor social annoyance." It also took into account that the defendant had distanced himself somewhat from revisionist views in a preface to a second edition.

The public prosecutor has appealed the verdict.

In a five-page section entitled "Holocaust Revisionism," Ratajczak matter-of-factly cited the work of such revisionists as Paul Rassinier, Robert Faurisson, David Irving and Ernst Zündel, who contend that there was no German plan or program to exterminate Europe's Jews. He also cited the forensic investigations carried out at Auschwitz and Birkenau by Fred Leuchter and Germar Rudolf, and their conclusions that, for technical reasons, well-known claims of killing millions of Jews in gas chambers are impossible.

While Ratajczak did not explicitly endorse these views, he did call testimony of Holocaust "eyewitness" survivors "useless," and described establishment Holocaust writers as "followers of a religion of the Holocaust" who impose on others "a false image of the past."

As the title of the book suggests, Ratajczak understands the dangers of challenging such prevailing taboos. As he put it (on page 8):

> To write about Polish-Jewish relations is a dangerous venture, especially for a Pole who holds the view that this relationship must be based on truth. Paradoxically it is accordingly easy to be accused of narrow-minded nationalism, xenophobia and "obsessive anti-Semitism." The results are often tragic: social exclusion (everyone has the friends he deserves), muzzling of journalistic and publishing activities, and, finally, professional ruin.

Ratajczak, who is popular with students, was suspended in April 1999 from his teaching post at the Historical Institute of the University of Opole after complaints were made to authorities. (See: "Polish Professor Under Fire for 'Holocaust Denial'," May-June 1999 *Journal*, p. 31.) It was not immediately known whether he would get his position back. With a child to support, his financial situation is precarious.

Commenting on the case, Swiss educator and revisionist author Jürgen Graf writes:

> There is concern that Ratajczak's acquittal will be overturned on appeal as a result of pressure from the Jewish lobby, which is extraordinarily powerful in Poland. Especially vicious in the hate campaign against him has been the Jew Adam Michnik, who was a prominent "dissident" during the Communist era.
>
> Dr. Dariusz Ratajczak is a man of firm political and religious convictions, a man of character. Such men are disliked by the government of "liberal democratic" Poland no less then they were by the government of the Polish "peoples democracy."

At his trial in mid-November, Ratajczak said that in his book he had merely summarized arguments of revisionist scholars who dispute Holocaust claims, and that views presented in his book do not necessarily reflect his own. "Historical revisionism is a historical and social fact," he said at the opening of his trial. "My only intention was to present the problem ... with the author's commentary."

"I feel great relief after months of a witch hunt against me in the media, but physically I am exhausted," he commented in the aftermath of the court's decision.

The author of Poland's "Holocaust denial" law expressed concern about the verdict: "I am afraid that the world will get the message that denying Nazi crimes in Poland is not socially harmful." A Jewish community leader called the verdict "outrageous" and "a poor testimonial to Polish democracy," and said that Jewish groups would protest. "Theories voiced by this man [Ratajczak] are an approval of genocide," said Szymon Szurmiej, head of the Federation of Jewish Associations in Poland.

Ratajczak published 320 copies of the first edition of the book at his own expense. Only a few were sold at the university bookstore or directly to students, or were given away to friends, before police seized the remaining copies.

"Holocaust denial" is a crime in several European states, including Germany, France, and Austria. Unlike similar laws elsewhere, though, the Polish law additionally bans "denial" of Communist crimes.

The Truth Leaks Out About Kosovo

The embarrassing truth is starting to come out that the Clinton Administration lied to us about Kosovo atrocities which were supposed to justify the bombing of Yugoslavia. In five months of investigation and exhumation of the dead in Kosovo, United Nations war crimes investigators have found only 2,108 bodies. That's the figure confirmed and reported to the UN Security Council by the chief prosecutor for the UN war crimes tribunal, Carla Del Ponte. (*New York Times*, Nov. 11, 1999)

Before the bombing, Clinton and Defense Secretary William Cohen repeatedly tossed out figures of 100,000 dead, and the State Department even claimed that up to 500,000 Kosovars were feared dead. (*New York Times*, Nov. 11, 1999)

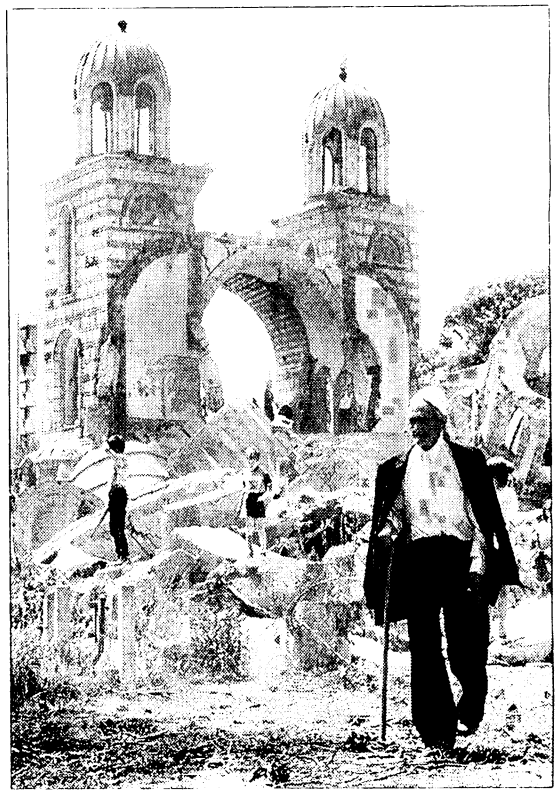
Pathologist Emilio Perez Pujol, who led a Spanish forensic team looking for bodies, found only 187, mostly in individual graves. He calculated that "the final figure of dead in Kosovo will be 2,500 at the most. This includes lots of strange deaths that can't be blamed on anyone in particular." (London *Sunday Times*, Oct. 31, 1999)

The British, who seem to be more interested in getting to the truth than Congress, are pressuring Foreign Secretary Robin Cook to answer claims that Tony Blair's government misled the public over the scale of deaths in order to justify NATO's bombing of Belgrade. Alice Mahon, the Labor MP who chairs the Balkans committee, said that the Kosovo deaths were tragic but did not justify the killing of Belgrade civilians by NATO's bombing. (London *Sunday Times*, Oct. 31, 1999)

Lacking a constitutional or national security basis for his Yugoslav adventure, Clinton relied wholly on the humanitarian argument. That rationale has fallen apart because the numbers of Milosevic's crimes in Kososo were so grossly inflated, the indiscriminate damage done by the Clinton/NATO bombing raids was so vast, and all the people he said he was helping are far worse off than before the bombing started.

The Clinton/NATO bombing was carried on for 78 days with total disregard for human life. The bombs killed thousands of innocent civilians and even destroyed hospitals and schools. (*New York Times*, April 14, 16, 20, 1999)

The Clinton/NATO bombing decimated Yugoslavia's economic infrastructure and created an environmental nightmare. Not only are water and power systems destroyed, but the lifeline of the region, the Danube River, is polluted and largely impassable because of destroyed bridges.



Children play in the ruins of one of many Serbian Orthodox churches destroyed in Kosovo, as an elderly ethnic Albanian walks by.

Repeated air strikes on the Serbian town of Pancevo [Panchevo] enveloped the area in clouds of black smoke and flames for ten days and unleashed tons of chemicals into the air, water and soil. The fish, produce and water are all contaminated. (*New York Times*, July 14, 1999)

What was advertised as an air war against Yugoslavia's military capabilities was really a war directed against the Serbian people. Dropping cluster bombs from 15,000 feet and firing missiles from many miles away guaranteed "mistakes" and "collateral damage" and prove that the targets were civilian as well as military. US Air Force Commander Lt. Gen. Michael Short admitted that the goal was to break the will of the Serbs and make them so miserable that they would force Milosevic to pull out of Kosovo. (London *Daily Telegraph*, May

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This essay is reprinted from the December 1999 *Phyllis Schlafly Report*: P.O. Box 618, Alton, IL 62002. Web site: www.eagleforum.org

25, 1999, quoted in Cato Institute's *Policy Analysis*, Oct. 25, 1999)

Estimates of the cost to rebuild the damage range up to $100 billion (you can bet that American taxpayers will ultimately be called upon to pay this bill), and the costs in human misery are incalculable.

The situation in Kosovo, the province Clinton was supposed to be protecting, is even worse. The danger from unexploded British and American cluster bombs and mines is at alarming levels, according to international aid agencies. (*New York Times,* 8/6, 1999) Before the bombing began, there was no humanitarian crisis in Kosovo. It was only after the US and NATO air strikes began that the Serbs started to expel Albanians from Kosovo.

The NATO "peacekeeping" force in Kosovo is completely unable to restrain the revenge-seeking Albanians who are beating and murdering the Serbs, even targeting grandmothers (*Washington Times*, August 13, 1999), and burning their homes and churches. (*New York Times*, August 2, 1999, Nov. 22, 1999) More Serb civilians have been slaughtered in Kosovo than ethnic Albanians before the bombing began. (David Hackworth column, August 24, 1999)

The daily violence continues even though there are now more NATO troops in Kosovo than Serbs. According to Human Rights Watch, 164,000 Serb civilians have been driven out of Kosovo. (*New York Times*, August 2, 5, 1999, Sept. 13, 1999, Oct. 29, 1999, Nov. 22, 1999)

The Clinton-Albright policy is based on the absurd fantasy that America and NATO can force the Serbs and Albanians to live together in a multiethnic society. Neither side wants that, and the attempt to impose our will means that US troops will play the costly roles of global cop and social worker indefinitely into the future.

The only people happy about the Yugoslavia debacle are the globalists who want America to be perpetually engaged in foreign conflicts. In a speech to the Canadian Parliament, Czech leader Vaclav Havel praised the Yugoslav war as "an important precedent for the future," saying that "state sovereignty must inevitably dissolve" and that nation-states will be transformed into "civil administrative units." (*The Responsive Community*, Summer 1999)

When Clinton's National Security Adviser Sandy Berger spoke to the Council on Foreign Relations on October 21, he described Clinton's foreign policy as grounded in the policy of "engagement." America will now be "engaged" in Yugoslavia for the rest of our lives.

Jewish Thinking

"What has happened since World War II is that the American mentality has become part Jewish, perhaps as much Jewish as anything else ... The literate American mind has come in some measure to think Jewishly. It has been taught to, and it was ready to. After the entertainers and novelists came the Jewish critics, politicians and theologians. Critics and politicians and theologians are by profession molders; they form ways of seeing."

— Walter Kerr, "Skin Deep is not Good Enough, " *The New York Times*, April 14, 1968, pp. D1, D3. Quoted in: Kevin MacDonald, *The Culture of Critique* (Praeger, 1998), p. 243.

Collapse of a Culture

"The culture we are living in becomes an ever-wider sewer. In truth, I think we are caught up in a cultural collapse of historic proportions, a collapse so great that it simply overwhelms politics ...

"... It is impossible to ignore the fact that the United States is becoming an ideological state ... Cultural Marxism is succeeding in its war against our culture ...

"I believe that we probably have lost the culture war.... Therefore, what seems to me a legitimate strategy for us to follow is to look at ways to separate ourselves from the institutions that have been captured by the ideology of Political Correctness, or by other enemies of our traditional culture ...

"I think that we have to look at a whole series of possibilities for bypassing the institutions that are controlled by the enemy. If we expand our energies on fighting on the 'turf' they already control, we will probably not accomplish what we hope, and we may spend ourselves to the point of exhaustion."

— Paul Weyrich, "Open Letter" of February 16, 1999.

"The historian is not trying the men and women of the past; he is contemplating them; he has to see them as in truth they were and to present them as such to others, and a man, as a man, cannot be seen truly unless his moral worth, his loveworthiness, is seen."

— David Knowles, *The Historian and Character, and Other Essays*. Quoted in Thomas C. Reeves, *A Question of Character* (1992), p. vii.

The National Socialist Party in Third Reich Germany

Himmler Talks with an American Journalist

LOTHROP STODDARD

During his lifetime Lothrop Stoddard (1883-1950) was one of America's most influential writers. He earned a doctorate from Harvard, and was the author of 15 books, including the much-discussed 1920 work, The Rising Tide of Color. *He wrote numerous articles and essays, and was an editorial writer and foreign affairs expert for* The Washington Star.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Second World War in Europe, he went to Germany on behalf of the North American Newspaper Alliance to report first-hand from the war-beleaguered Third Reich. During this visit he conducted interviews with such key figures as Hitler, Himmler, and Goebbels. Stoddard compiled his observations and interviews in a 300-page book, Into the Darkness, *that the* Dictionary of American Biography *called "a fair and honest appraisal of the Nazi state." This remarkable account will soon be re-issued in an attractive new Noontide edition.*

In the following essay, adapted from Chapter 20 of Into the Darkness, *Stoddard presents a skeptical but open-minded look at the role of the all-embracing National Socialist Party. This chapter also includes his January 1940 interview with Heinrich Himmler — the first ever granted to a foreign journalist by the SS leader.*

"The Party." That is the commonest phrase in Germany today. It denotes that all-powerful organization, NSDAP (National Socialist German Workers Party) which dominates, energizes, and directs the Third Reich.

Just what is the Party, and what are its relations with the Nation, the State Administration, and those numberless organizations characteristic of German life? That was one of the first questions I put when I got to Germany. Knowing as I did the range of official literature, I supposed I would be promptly handed a neat manual setting forth the whole subject in the meticulous Teutonic Way. What was my amazement when the Propaganda Ministry informed me that no such manual existed, the reason alleged being that the system was more or less fluid and that changes were continually taking place.

Accordingly, I had to piece the current picture together, bit by bit. You never can be sure, at first glance, what is "Party" and what isn't. For instance, I at first took it for granted that all the Brown-Shirt SA and Black-uniformed SS men I saw were Party members. Presently I learned that this was not true; that many of them were candidates, qualifying themselves for membership by meritorious service. As for the organizations, some were "Party," others "State," still others are intermediate, while one or two, like the National Labor Service (*Arbeitsdienst*), were started by the Party but are now under State control. It was all very confusing. Indeed, I frankly admit that even now I haven't got a wholly clear idea of the scheme in all its complex details.

The reason for this seeming confusion appears to be that National Socialism, though a revolutionary movement, evolved as a regular political party with a complete organization of its own, until, by the time it came to power, it had become virtually a State within a State. Instead of merging itself with the State, or vice versa, this separate organization has been maintained. Of course, all branches of the State are headed by prominent Party men, and their higher subordinates are usually Party members. Indeed, a man may simultaneously hold a State and a Party office. But, in such cases, both the offices and their functions are kept consciously distinct from each other.

When Nazis try to explain to you the interactions of State and Party, they usually say the Party is like an electric motor running a lot of machinery. This motor is the great energizer. It revolves very rapidly and tries to make the machine go at top speed. The machine, however, tends to run at a regulated tempo, toning down in practice the motor's dynamic urge. The Party urges ever: "Faster! Faster!" The officials of the State Administration, however, charged as they are with actual responsibilities and faced with practical problems, act as a machine "governor," keeping progress within realistic bounds.

Dr. Robert Ley, head of the Labor Front, occupies the post of Organization-Leader for the entire Party, and on this exalted phase of his activities his views were enlightening.

"Dr. Ley," I asked him in an interview, "for a long

time I've been studying the various organizations you direct. I think I've learned considerable about them, yet I know I haven't got the whole picture. Will you explain to me briefly the basic principles underlying all of them? And will you also explain their relations to both the Party and the State?"

It was late afternoon. We were sitting in a cozy reception-room adjacent to the Doctor's study, in the restful atmosphere of tea, cakes, and sandwiches. For some moments, Dr. Ley sipped his tea reflectively.

"Let's see how I'd best put it," he said finally. "As to our basic ideas, they are very simple. First of all, the principle of natural leadership. By this we mean the proved leader who by sheer merit has fought his way up from below to supreme command. This is best exemplified by Adolf Hitler, our Führer, whom we believe to be an inspired genius."

Lothrop Stoddard

By this time Dr. Ley had fairly warmed to his subject. His gray eyes shone with enthusiasm.

"Our second principle," he went on, "is absolute loyalty and obedience. So long as a plan is under discussion, it is carefully weighed from every angle. Once debate is closed and a decision is made, everyone gets behind it one hundred percent. But behind both those principles is a third which is even more fundamental. This is what we call the *Gemeinschaft* — the organic unity of a people, founded on identity of blood. Germany is fortunate in being racially united. That is the ultimate secret of our harmonious strength."

"Thanks for the explanation," said I. "Now would you mind going on and telling me how, on those foundations, you have built up the various organizations you direct, and how they stand to the Party and to the State?"

"Before I do that," Dr. Ley answered, "let me make clear what the Party and the State mean to each other. The National Socialist Party, as others have doubtless told you, may be likened to a motor which supplies the energy by which an elaborate machine is run. To change the simile, we may also compare the Party to the advance-guard of a column of marching troops. Its duty is to pioneer, investigate, make everything safe. The State, on the other hand, is the main body which occupies the ground won and puts everything in final order. One of the outstanding features of the Third Reich is that the Party can, and does, make all sorts of experiments which would be impossible for State officials, tied down as they are by legal regulations and red tape."

"Would you mind making that a bit more specific?" I ventured.

"All right," he said. "Take me, for example. I'm not a State official. I'm purely a Party leader whose duty it is to prepare such experiments and set them going. Within my field, I have almost boundless freedom of action. For instance when the Führer ordered me to put through the People's Automobile (*Volkswagen*) Plan, I got the large sums needed. Of course I am held rigidly responsible for results. If I botched a job, I'd immediately be called to account. But so long as things go right, I don't have to waste my time explaining to all sorts of people just what I'm doing. With us, it's efficiency that counts."

"Do your experiments always succeed?" I asked.

"Not always," Dr. Ley admitted. "And when, after a full and fair trial, they are found to be impracticable, we frankly give them up. Sometimes, again, we find an idea to be theoretically sound but, for one reason or another, premature. In that case we lay the idea aside, to be tried again under more favorable circumstances. But when an experiment has proved sound and workable, the Party presently hands it over to the State; which then, as it were, anchors it firmly into the national life by giving it permanent legal status, That's what has actually happened with the institution we call *Arbeitsdienst* — the universal labor service required of young men and women. It started as a social experiment run by the Party. Now, having proved itself out, it is a regular state matter."

"Which means," I suggested, "that the party is thereby free to take up still other social experiments?"

"Exactly," he nodded. "And we have so may measures, not merely for bettering life materially but for enriching it as well. We believe the more work we give men to do, the more enjoyment we must give them too. This applies to all grades of persons, with recreation furnished them according to their abilities and tastes. It is not a leveling process — rather is it a grading process, putting people in their right places."

"To each man according to his abilities?" I remarked.

"Absolutely," said Dr. Ley. "We are always on the lookout for ability; especially capacity for leadership (*Leitungsfaehigkeit*). That precious quality confers upon an individual the right to an agreeable life, a

fine mansion, and many other good things. But the instant he shows himself unworthy of his position he loses them all and is cast aside. National Socialism plays no favorites. While princes and rich men have not been deprived of their titles and wealth, none of them have any prescriptive right to prominence in the Third Reich. If a prince in the Party (and we have them) shows capacity for leadership, he goes ahead. Otherwise, he stays in the background."

So much for this exposition of Party principles, from its organizational director — to be taken with the usual grain of salt between theory and practice. Now a few words as to the growth and character of Party membership, as gathered from various official spokesmen.

Down to January 30, 1933, the lists were open to all persons who cared to join. Up to that time the Party was fighting for its very life and every recruit was welcome. On that epochal date, the triumph of National Socialism became virtually assured. At the moment, its membership totaled approximately 1,600,000. These veterans, who joined while success was still doubtful and helped put it across, still enjoy a certain prestige faintly reminiscent of the "Old Bolsheviks" in Soviet Russia. The Nazi "Old Guard" hold most of the leading posts and are generally regarded as most trustworthy. This explains why one sees relatively few aristocratic types in the upper ranks of the Party today, because not many joined up before 1933.

Although a rush to get on the band-wagon began at once, the Party welcomed new members until the following May, when its ranks had swelled to 3,200,000 — just 100 percent. The list were then closed to individual joiners, but were still held open to members of certain nationalistic organizations like the *Stahlhelm* [veterans association] until 1936, when the Party had 4,400,000 adherents. Thenceforth, accessions were rigidly scrutinized. In fact, applications were discouraged; the Party sought the man, rather than the man the Party. The rule now is that membership is earned only after two or three years' faithful service in some form or other. It takes an outstanding act of merit in Party eyes for a man or woman to be admitted in lesser time. Much of the unpaid work of the country, such as volunteer service in the NSV [the national public welfare organization], Winter-Help drives, or food-card distribution, is done with this in mind. Exceptionally distinguished activity is required for such persons to rise high in the Party organization. Able technicians may soon land good jobs, but that is different from getting into the directing upper crust. I was told that less stringent rules had been in force for candidates from Sudetenland and Poland after the acquisition of those regions, and that the total membership now approximates 6,000,000. After all, that is not a very large figure in comparison with the 80,000,000 Germans who inhabit the Greater Reich. The Party is thus still fairly exclusive, though if we add the families of members, the Nazi bloc probably numbers close to 20,000,000.

Theoretically, any young man or woman of unmixed "Aryan" blood is eligible when they come of age, and it is from the ranks of youth that the Party strives to recruit its membership. However, even here candidates must have an unblemished record, from a party standpoint, in the Hitler Youth, and must be vouched for by their local Party Group. Formal admission takes the form of a solemn oath taken in front of the swastika flag, with the right arm upraised in the Nazi salute. The oath consists of a pledge of unconditional obedience to Adolf Hitler and the party, after which the neophyte subscribes to a long list of commandments, the first one being: *The Führer is always right.*

From the rising generation, the party thus selects for membership those young men and women best conditioned for its purposes, And from this already selected group is recruited the *Schutz Staffeln* (Defense Detachments), commonly known as the SS. This is the Party's private army. Originally it was a relatively small elite section of the Brown-Shirt Storm Troopers. But after the Party assumed power the SA men were assigned mainly to routine patriotic duties such as collecting for the Winter-Help. The SS, on the contrary, became the party's mainstay in upholding its all-pervading influence and authority. I was unable to learn its precise numbers, but I understand its present strength to be at least 200,000, organized into regiments, brigades, and divisions, just like the regular army itself.

Furthermore, the SS serves as a training school for both the ordinary police force *(Schutz Polizei)* and the Political Secret Police — the dread *Gestapo.* All three allied organizations are headed by Heinrich Himmler, who built them up to their present efficiency and thus wields a power in the Reich presumably second only to that of the Führer himself.

The typical SS man is tall and blond, young or in the prime of life, with fine physique enhanced by careful athletic training. As Nora Waln aptly puts it, he has "the daily-dozen-followed-by-a- cold-shower look." As he strides along in his well-tailored black uniform with its symbolic death's-head insignia, he is clearly cock-o'-the-walk — and he knows it. It is interesting to observe how civilians instinctively give him the right-of-way on the sidewalks or in subway trains.

These SS may in many ways be compared to the Janissary Corps of the Old Ottoman Empire. To begin with they are picked men — picked for fanat-

ical loyalty to the Party, for health and strength, and for unmixed "Aryan" blood. Before attaining full membership in the corps they undergo rigorous training, Spartan in character, which is best characterized by Nietzsche's famous dictum: *Be hard!* Well-poised hardness both to self and to others is their outstanding attitude. When discussing with foreign residents some harsh or ruthless aspect of the Nazi regime, they would often say: "That's the SS mentality coming out."

As might be expected, the SS have a strong *esprit de corps*. Their pride in themselves and their organization is unmistakable. Ever aspect of their private lives must conform to strict standards and is carefully supervised. For instance, when they marry (as they are supposed to do in conformity with the Nazi eugenic program), the bride must be equally "Aryan," must pass exacting physical tests, and is expected to attend special courses in domestic and ideological training. The pair are thus deemed well-fitted to play the role required of them and to produce plenty of children for that biological aristocracy which is destined to be the natural rulers of the Third Reich. In return, SS families are well taken care of. Two of the best housing developments I was shown in the Berlin suburbs were for SS households.

I understand that the *Gestapo*, or Secret Police, are equally well disciplined and looked after, but of course they are invisible to ordinary view. I recall an amusing instance on this point. Some time after my arrival in Berlin I was chatting with a high Nazi acquaintance, who asked me casually; "By the way, how many *Gestapos* have you seen since you got here?"

"None — that I could recognize," was my reply.

He laughed heartily. "A good answer," he said. "And you never will — unless they want you to."

Well, there was one *Gestapo* that I did want to see — the Big Chief of them all — Heinrich Himmler himself. But I was told that seeing him was almost as difficult as getting an audience with the Führer, because he systematically shuns publicity and is therefore journalistically one of Germany's most inaccessible personalities. Naturally, that made me all the more eager to interview him. I finally did, the very day before I left Berlin. It was one of those by-products from my enhanced popularity which I encountered when I returned from Budapest, and which was undoubtedly due to my having strictly kept my word regarding the Hitler audience. Journalistically, this was a clear "scoop," for I was told by the Propaganda Ministry that mine was the first interview Himmler had ever given a foreign correspondent.

Like so many of my experiences in Nazi Germany, the whole affair was quite different from

Heinrich Himmler

what I had imagined. Off-hand, you would say that the redoubtable Himmler's headquarters would have a mysterious or even a sinister atmosphere. But it didn't. It is a stately old building, made over into offices. You need a special pass to enter, but I went with an official, so there was no delay. Ascending to the second story by a broad stone stairway, we were quickly shown the Chief's quarters, and passed through a suite of offices, light, airy, and tastefully businesslike. There, young men and women were busy with typewriters and filing-cabinets. If the men had not been in uniform, I might have imagined myself about to meet a big corporation executive. Certainly, there was no "police" atmosphere about the place, secret or otherwise; no obvious plainclothes-men, gimlet-eyed sleuths, or other "properties" of a similar nature.

When I finally entered the inner sanctum I was met by a brisk-stepping individual of medium height who greeted me pleasantly and offered me a seat on a well-upholstered sofa. Heinrich Himmler is a South German type, with close-cut dark hair, a Bavarian accent, and dark blue eyes which look searchingly at you from behind rimless glasses. He is only forty years of age — extraordinarily young for the man who heads the whole police force of the Reich, commands the entire SS, and has charge of the vast resettlement program whereby hundreds of thousands of Germans from the Baltic states, Russia, and northern Italy are coming back willy-nilly to their racial an cultural Fatherland.

Those are certainly three big jobs for one individual. How he does it all is hard to understand. But

you get at least an inkling when you meet and talk with him. The longer you are in his presence, the more you become conscious of dynamic energy — restrained and unspectacular, yet persistent and efficient to the last degree. Also you begin to glimpse what lies behind his matter-of-fact exterior. At first he impresses you as a rather strenuous bureaucrat. But as he discusses his police duties, you notice that his mouth sets in a thin line while his eyes take on a steely glint. Then you realize how formidable he must be professionally.

It was this aspect of this activities that I first broached. "I certainly am glad to meet one of whom I have heard so much," was my opening remark. "Perhaps you know that, in America, we hear rather terrible things about the *Gestapo.* Indeed," I added with a smile, "it is sometimes compared to the Russian Cheka, with you yourself, Excellency, as a second Dzerzhinsky!"

Himmler took this in good part. He laughed easily. "I'm sure our police organization isn't half as black as it's painted abroad," was his reply. "We certainly do our best to combat crime of every sort, and our criminal statistics imply that we are fairly successful. Frankly, we believe that habitual offenders should not be at large to plague society, so we keep them locked up. Why, for instance, should a sex-offender who has been sentenced three of four times be again set free, to bring lasting sorrow to another decent home? We send all such persons to a detention-camp and keep them there. But I assure you that their surroundings aren't bad. In fact, I know they are better fed, clothed, and lodged than the miners of South Wales. Ever seen one of our concentration-camps?"

"No," I answered, "I wasn't able to get permission."

"Too bad I didn't know about it," said Himmler. "There you'd see the sort of social scum we have shut sway from society for its own good."

That was all very fine, but I felt that Himmler was hedging a bit. So I proceeded: "You refer there to criminals in the general sense of the term. But how about political offenders — say, old-fashioned liberals? Is any political opposition tolerated?"

"What a person *thinks* is none of our concern," shot back Himmler quickly. "But when he acts upon his thoughts, perhaps to the point of starting a conspiracy, then we take action. We believe in extinguishing a fire while it is still small. It saves trouble and averts much damage. Besides," he continued, "there isn't any need for political opposition with us. If a man sees something he thinks is wrong, let him come straight to us and talk the matter over. Let him even write me personally. Such letters always reach me. We welcome new ideas and are only to glad to correct mistakes. Let me give you an example. Suppose somebody sees traffic on a busy corner badly handled. In other countries he could write a scathing letter to the newspapers saying how stupidly and badly the police run things. A hundred thousand people who may never have even seen that corner might get all excited, and the prestige of both the police and the State itself might suffer in consequence. With us, all that man has to do is to write us, and I assure you the matter will be quickly righted."

Feeling this traffic simile was a bit ingenuous, I tried to lead him back to the point he knew I had in mind. I nodded sympathetically and said, "That sounds reasonable. But how about a political matter? For instance, take a man like Pastor Niemoeller?"

I felt that ought to bring some reaction, because the Pastor is poison-ivy to most Nazis. Only a few days before, one fairly prominent member of the Party had grown red in the face at the mention of Niemoeller's name and had hissed: "The dirty traitor! If I had my way, I'd order him put up against a wall and shot!"

Himmler took it more calmly. He merely raised a deprecating hand, replying: "Please understand, it was political controversy which got him into trouble. We never interfere with matters of religious dogma." Then, after a moment's pause, he added: "If foreign attacks upon us in this affair would cease, perhaps he could be more leniently dealt with."

It was clear that Himmler didn't wish to discuss the subject further. His eyes narrowed slightly and a frown appeared above the bridge of his nose. Seeing there was nothing more to be gained on that line, I took another tack.

"Tell me something about the basis of the SS organization?" was my next question.

"The *Schutz-Staffel*," answered Himmler blandly, "represents the best and soundest young manhood of the race. It is founded on the ideals of self-sacrifice, loyalty, discipline, and all-round excellence. Besides being soldiers, the SS has many cultural sides. For instance, we have our own porcelain factory, make our own furniture, and do much scholarly research. When you leave me, I shall have you taken to the barracks of the *Leibstandarte* here in Berlin, the elite regiment which guards the Führer. There you will see the type of young manhood of which the SS is so justly proud."

"And now, Excellency," I went on, "a few words, if you will, about your resettlement policy?"

"That policy," replied Himmler, "can best be expressed in the words of our Führer: 'To give lasting peace to our eastern borders.' For centuries, that region and others in eastern Europe have been chronically disturbed by jarring minorities hopelessly mixed up with one another. What we are now

trying to do is to separate these quarreling elements in just, constructive fashion. We have voluntarily withdrawn our German minorities form places like the Baltic states, and we shall do the same in northern Italy. We are even marking out a place for the Jews where they may live quietly unto themselves. Between us and the Poles we seek to fashion a proper racial boundary. Of course, we are going about it slowly — you can't move multitudes of people with their livestock and personal belongings like pawns on a chessboard. But that is the objective we ultimately hope to attain."

Himmler talked further about his resettlement policies, carefully avoiding the tragic aspects that they involve. He then returned briefly to the subject of his SS. At that point, a smart young aide entered and saluted.

"The motor [car] is ready, sir," he announced.

"To see the Life-Guards," explained Himmler. "I certainly want you to get a glimpse of my men before you leave."

So saying, the redoubtable head of the *Gestapo* gave me a muscular handshake and wished me a pleasant homeward journey.

It was a wretched day in late January, cold as Greenland and with swirling spits of snow to thicken the blanket already on the ground. As Himmler's car reached the suburbs, it swerved and swayed ticklishly in hard-packed snow-ruts. However, the SS man at the wheel was a splendid driver and got us to our destination safely and with celerity.

Hitler's Life-Guards occupy the former Prussian Military Cadet School. The buildings are old, though well kept up. The one exception is the swimming-hall, a magnificent new building with a pool so large that I judged nearly a thousand men could bathe together without too much crowding. The Commandant — a hard-bitten old soldier, small, wiry, and dark-complexioned, in striking contrast to his young subordinates who were all blonds of gigantic size — proudly told me how it happened to be built.

It seems that the Führer came out one day to see how his Life-Guards were housed. At that time, the swimming-hall was an old structure capable of accommodating only one company at a time. Hitler looked it over and frowned. "This is no fit place for my *Leibstandarte* to bathe," he announced. "Bring me pencil and paper!" Then and there he sketched out his idea of what the new swimming-hall should be. And on those lines it was actually built.

Such is the "Party" and such are the men who control its destinies. What are we to think of this amazing organization and of its aggressively dynamic creed which so uncompromisingly challenges our world and its ideas?

One thing seems certain: The National Socialist upheaval that has created the Third Reich goes far deeper than the Fascist regime in Italy, and is perhaps a more defiant breach with the historic past than even the Communism of Soviet Russia. This the Nazis themselves claim with no uncertain voice. Listen to what Otto Dietrich, one of their outstanding spokesmen, has to say on this point:

"The Nationalist Socialist revolution is a totalitarian revolution ... It embraces and revolutionizes not only our culture but our whole thought and the concepts underlying it — in other words, our very manner of thinking. Hence it becomes the starting point, the condition, and the impelling force of all our actions ... We are crossing the threshold of a new era. National Socialism is more than a renascence. It does not signify the return to an old and antiquated world. On the contrary, it constitutes the bridge to a new world!"

Outside of Germany, most persons seem inclined to think that the "new world" envisioned by the Nazis would not be a very desirable abode. However, that does not alter the fact that we are here confronted by a revolution of the most radical kind, and that its leaders are revolutionists from the ground up. Furthermore, though most of them are still relatively young in years, they are all veterans hardened by prolonged adversity and scarred from many battles. They are the logical outcome of the quarter-century of hectic national life which we have already discussed. In my opinion, therefore, both they and their movement may be deemed *normal by-products of an abnormal situation.*

To give one instance of the grim school wherein they were fashioned, let me cite an episode from my own experience. In mid-summer of the year 1923, I sat in my room at the Hotel Adlon, discussing with a German the deplorable position to which his country had then been reduced. I had just come to Berlin from a trip through the Rhineland and the Ruhr, where I had watched the passive-resistance campaign against the French invaders, seen the black troops, and studied other aspects of that tragic affair. Now, largely in consequence of that desperate maneuver, the Mark was slipping fast to perdition, national bankruptcy was at hand, and utter ruin loomed in the offing.

As my guest discussed the seemingly hopeless situation, he was visibly in agony. Sweat stood out on his forehead. Suddenly, his mood changed utterly. Flinging back his head, he burst into truly blood-curdling laughter, best described by the German phrase *galgenhumor* — gallows-humor. Still shaking with his macabre mirth, he leaned forward and tapped me on the knee.

"Millions of us have already died, on the battlefield and from the British hunger blockade," he

chuckled. "Perhaps millions more of us will perish, and we shall surely be ruined. No one can tell what trials await us, and the world will do little to assuage our agony. But, no matter what happens, it will be mainly the weak and soft who will perish. Soon, the good-natured, easy-going, pot-bellied German will be no more. Dr. Stoddard, let me make you a prophecy. If this goes on, in about fifteen years you will see a New Germany, so lean, so hard, so ruthless, that she can take on all comers — and beat them!"

The desperate spirit of the cornered man I talked to on a long-gone summer day typifies merely one phase of the bitter schooling which made Germany's present rulers what they are. In post-war Britain, a phrase was coined to depict their English counterparts. That phrase was: *The Lost Generation.* But if that were true of the war-scarred youth of Britain, how infinitely truer was it of German youth! Well, those war-youngsters are now in the saddle. So what we see in Germany is — *the lost generation come to power.*

From the moment I first looked at those rulers of the Third Reich, I felt there was something about them which, from my American viewpoint, was queer. As I analyzed them, I realized that it was a sort of twisted cynicism combined with a hard ruthlessness. And when I listened to their life-stories, I saw it could scarcely be otherwise. Most of them had entered the war as volunteers when they were mere boys. One, I recall, was only fifteen at the time; others were not much older. These burningly patriotic lads went through the hell of a losing war, culminating in crushing defeat. Then their abased spirits were given a savage tonic by joining the Free Corps formed to combat the attempt at a "Spartakist" [Communist] revolution. Joyously, they killed Communists for a while. After that, some of them tried to go to college or into business; but few of them could adapt themselves to the life of the Weimar republic which they hated and despised. Some of them went abroad, adventuring; the rest sulked and brooded until their ears heard a sudden trumpet-call. It as Nazidom's brazen clarion: *Deutschland, Erwache!* "Germany, Awake!" They listened to Adolf Hitler's oratory which stressed all the longings of their embittered hearts and they fell under his hypnotic spell. Into the ranks of the Storm-Troops they went, with additional years of fighting as they killed more Communists and "mastered the streets." Then, at last, victory — and undisputed power.

Such, in a nutshell, are the Nazis, as I analyzed them. The rest, only war's awesome arbitrament can decide.

Jewish Influence and Power

"During the last three decades Jews have made up 50 percent of the top two hundred intellectuals, 40 percent of American Nobel Prize winners in science and economics, 20 percent of professors at the leading universities, 21 percent of high level civil servants, 40 percent of partners in the leading law firms in New York and Washington, 26 percent of the reporters, editors, and executives of the major print and broadcast media, 59 percent of the directors, writers, and producers of the 50 top-grossing motion pictures from 1965 to 1982, and 58 percent of directors, writers, and producers in two or more prime time television series."

— Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, *Jews and the New American Scene* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1995), pp. 26-27.

'Ruling Symbol of Our Culture'

"The Holocaust is being misused as a symbol for a wide range of current political situations ... Whether presented authentically or inauthentically, in accordance with the historical facts or in contradiction to them, with empathy and understanding or as monumental kitsch, the Holocaust has become a ruling symbol of our culture ... Hardly a month goes by without a new TV production, a new film, a new drama, new books, prose or poetry, dealing with the subject, and the flood is increasing rather than abating."

— Israeli Holocaust historian Yehuda Bauer (professor at Hebrew University, Jerusalem). From a 1992 lecture published in: David Cesarani, ed., *The Final Solution: Origins and Implementation* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994), pp. 305, 306.

"What the best of statesman can do is listen to the rustle of God's mantle through history and try to catch the hem of it for a few steps."

— Bismarck

"Writing history is a dangerous trade, and anyone who undertakes it must bring relevant facts into the story, if loyalty to truth is his profession."

— Charles A. Beard, American historian (1874-1948). Quoted by James J. Martin in *American Liberalism and World Politics, 1931-1941* (1964), volume 1, p. ii.

Perspectives on the Past and Present

JOSEPH SOBRAN

Man of the Century?

The suspense is over. *Time* magazine has finally named its man — sorry, person — of the century: Albert Einstein. Oddly enough, *Time* named Winston Churchill its man of the half-century in 1950, and Einstein, who died in 1955, did nothing after 1950 to surpass Churchill, who at least returned to power briefly after the century's midpoint.

In fact Einstein had done all his ground-breaking work in physics before World war I. His single achievement after that was to persuade Franklin Roosevelt to launch the quest for a superbomb that would kill whole cities in a flash. He seems to have been grieved when the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki instead of Berlin and Munich; and he was especially alarmed that it might later be used against the Soviet Union. A reliable fellow traveler of Stalin, he spent his latter days denouncing nuclear warfare and the United States. After defending Stalin's show trials in the 1930s, he warned against "McCarthyism" in the 1950s. As a scientist, a genius; as a human being, a worm.

Time's runner-up for Person of the Century is Franklin D. Roosevelt, my own choice for con man of the century (followed by Freud, Picasso, and Clinton). The magazine devotes several pages to a gushing dithyramb to FDR by that garrulous den mother of liberal mythology, Doris Kearns Goodwin. Sure enough, we hear of FDR's cigarette holder, maintained at a "jaunty angle." No other cliche is omitted: "buoyant optimism ... serene confidence ... moral compass ... unshakable belief in the American people ... came to sympathize with the poor and the underprivileged ... defied prevailing opinion ... magnificent sense of timing ... in the end, Roosevelt's great strengths far outweighed his weaknesses ... the most genuine and unswerving spokesman for democracy," etc., etc.

Mrs. Goodwin's essay is interesting not because it's in any way original, but precisely because it isn't. It's a recitation of the orthodox liberal litany, without a syllable of deviation.

She says barely a word about FDR's chum Stalin, the real winner of World War II. By implication, Roosevelt helped the Soviet Union only for the sake of whipping Hitler; never mind his diplomatic recognition of the pariah Communist state in 1933, his personal fondness for "Uncle Joe," and his readiness to overlook forced famine, purges, and invasions of Poland, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania. Even before the war FDR assured Americans that the Soviet constitution protected religious freedom just as ours did.

Joseph Sobran

Considering who his boss was, Alger Hiss got a raw deal. The active Soviet sympathizers around Roosevelt — Hiss, Harry Hopkins, Harry Dexter White, and others — merely reflected FDR's attitude. He had no differences in principle with Stalin; he merely acted under more restraints. None of this is mentioned by Mrs. Goodwin.

Mrs. Goodwin says nothing, of course, about Roosevelt's contempt for the US Constitution he was sworn to uphold. She has never read it and cares nothing for its severe divisions and limitations of power. His scheme to pack the Supreme Court, which shocked even his fellow Democrats, gets no mention either. She merely coos over the way Roosevelt communicated his infectious "confidence" to the little people during the Depression, especially through his inspiring "fireside chats."

She makes a glancing regretful reference to his order that Japanese-Americans be deprived of their rights, a measure even J. Edgar Hoover condemned as unconstitutional. Not a word about FDR's use of the FBI, the IRS and other Federal agencies to spy on, intimidate, and control his opponents. Nor about his slandering of his critics, like the brave Charles Lindbergh, which went far beyond anything McCar-

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"Man of the Century?" is reprinted from the January 6, 2000, issue of the traditionalist Roman Catholic weekly *The Wanderer* (201 Ohio St., St. Paul, MN 55107). "Persecution Update" is reprinted from the December 1995 issue of *Sobran's*. "Verdicts of History" is reprinted from the March 1997 issue of *Sobran's*. "Here's to the Losers" is reprinted from the September 1999 issue of *Sobran's*. "The Imperial Theme" is reprinted from the December 1995 issue of *Sobran's*.

thy would do later. Nor about FDR's attempts to stir envy and hate against "economic royalists," an absurd but potent phrase.

Nor does she understand the FDR's giveaway programs were a classic demagogic technique of bribing the electorate. If you want to give Roosevelt credit for anything, it should be for his Machiavellian savvy in perceiving and exploiting the worst possibilities of mass democracy.

Not a word, either, about FDR's resort to the savage practice of terror-bombing cities, deliberately targeting civilians in utter violation of the principles of civilized warfare — an "advance to barbarism," as F.J.P. Veale later called it. Though fully worthy of Stalin, this policy was adopted by FDR in partnership with his fellow savior of Western civilization Winston Churchill. (At the post-war sham trials at Nuremberg, the blitz of London was not included in the "war crimes" the Germans were accused of, since the Allies had initiated the aerial bombing of civilian areas — a fact that was discreetly acknowledged only years after the war had ended, when few were paying attention.)

Thus did Franklin Roosevelt save "democracy and capitalism," according to Mr. Goodwin. She does her utmost to make him sound like a philosopher-statesman with some higher purpose than getting elected and re-elected and amassing power. And of course she acknowledges no cost: it's pure profit, with no loss in terms of American constitutionalism, the rule of law, personal liberty, or Christian morality.

Mrs. Goodwin's resolute optimism has a quaint shallowness, a refusal not only to see other possible dimensions of her hero, but a typically American inability to see the potential for evil in the American role in the world. For her there is no tragedy in a war that claimed tens of millions of innocent lives, leaving every survivor scarred — only a happy vindication of Democracy and its "peerless leader."

The Allied cause was fatally corrupted by its association with the Soviet Union, and even today the democratic West remains both tainted and morally disoriented by its inability to admit the profound evil of the means it adopted for the purpose of defeating Hitler. The notion that Roosevelt an Churchill were innocents at Yalta, and that Stalin revealed his true colors only after the war, is nonsense.

The year 2000 affords one more occasion for rehearsing the threadbare epic of our great progressive heroes, airbrushing their little peccadilloes out of the picture. But Churchill professing surprise at the "Iron Curtain" was as hypocritical as Einstein professing shock at the horrors of nuclear war. Were these far-sighted men so unable to foresee the natural consequences of their own actions?

Persecution Update

A few months ago I was persecuted for my opinions again. A speech I was scheduled to deliver to the Shakespeare Oxford Society was cancelled, not because of my views on Shakespeare, but because a handful of members accused me of "anti-Semitism." Other members objected — after the fact. They weren't consulted in advance, nor was I; the governing board simply caved in to backstage pressure, in the usual way of these things, then announced its decision.

What this had to do with Shakespeare we could only guess. In fact it seems odd that a society that defines "anti-Semitism" so loosely should be devoted to the creator of Shylock.

I'm driven to the conclusion that I'm a victim of a boycott — or more precisely, a goycott. Such luminaries as Richard Cohen of the *Washington Post* and Leon Wiesel of the *New Republic* have refused to participate in broadcast discussions with me, citing my views on Israel — even when Israel wasn't the scheduled subject of discussion!

There's no point in complaining. If Israel means so much to these folks, so be it.

But I do want to make one point. The usual pretext of Israel's American partisans is that Israel is a "reliable," if not indispensable, ally of the United States. But if they were really motivated by the welfare of the United States, why do they attack critics of Israel and the alliance as anti-Semitic, anti-Israel, insensitive to Jewish concerns, and so forth?

According to their own professions, they should attack those critics for hurting *American* interests. Yet they never do. And nobody is surprised by this. Everyone seems to understand what their real motive is.

The hypocrisy lies in the pretense that American and Israeli interests am the same thing, and that the Israeli lobby isn't just doing what most lobbies do: seeking the sacrifice of the general good to its own special purposes. This is the old problem of what the framers of the Constitution called "factions."

More recently, American Jews, supporters of Israel and otherwise, have worded about the charge of dual loyalty." But the Israel lobby doesn't evince *dual* loyalty; it has only *one* primary loyalty. It would display *dual* loyalty if it occasionally recognized a divergence between American and Israeli interests, and preferred the former to the latter. Which it never does. It pretends that no divergence exists, that Israel's enemies are also America's enemies, and that the United States should, for its own good, maintain hostilities toward Arab and Muslim countries.

All this is a matter of simple logic and common

sense. We have been saved from the natural consequences of the Israel lobby's conduct by Israel itself — specifically, by the realism of Yitzhak Rabin.

And for that, no credit belongs to our toadying politicians; nor to those conservative pundits who do their Judaeo-Christian duty by staying on the safe side of their neoconservative cronies, while knifing those of us who apply our principles even to Israel — principles that are supposed to be theirs too.

The trouble with the customary charges of bigotry — not only anti-Semitism, but racism, sexism, homophobia, etc. — is that they assume that certain demands must be granted because of their provenance. They are made by the pedigreed underdogs. If you resist them, you are at least insensitive to the victims, and possibly hostile. The demands are assumed to be moral tests of those they are made against, who have no right to scrutinize them.

That's a formula for a politics of passion, imbalance, intemperance, and finally injustice. It denies the principle that there may be two sides to a question; it flouts the whole Aristotelian tradition of the West, which seeks to measure every claim against a total moral order and to draw appropriate lines against excess.

When Aristotelian reason is banished, there is no longer such a thing as moral order or excess. Any critical scrutiny of inordinate political claims can be treated as persecution of those who make them, as I keep discovering. It's no use pleading that you merely want to test whether the fights some people claim for themselves are bound to be greater than the rights of others, and to place unjust burdens on those others. To reason is to incur guilt.

And so "civil rights" have come to mean privileged treatment for some, treatment that can be purchased only at the cost of depriving others of their natural freedom of association. "Israel's right to exist" has come to mean its privilege of living off the tax money of Americans, while denying Christians and Muslims the equal rights Jews elsewhere properly insist on for themselves. "Gay rights" means the suppression of sexual morality. It never ends.

Verdicts of History

Though I try in my writing to present myself as the soul of reason, the truth is that I'm merely capturing and recording what I think are my relatively few lucid moments. It has taken me many years to reach conclusions which, once achieved, appear so obvious that I wonder why it took me so long.

The other day, for example, it hit me that I'd spent most of my life vaguely assuming that Lincoln had abolished slavery by a simple act of will. Nobody ever taught me that explicitly, but it's the impression we are given by our teachers, textbooks, and public Lincoln-worship. You'd think (as I certainly did) that Lincoln was the first president who didn't believe in slavery, and one day he just picked up his pen and wrote an order doing away with it.

The truth, of course, is more complicated. Lincoln wanted to punish the South for secession, encourage a slave uprising, and give the Union cause a moral gloss that would override Northern reservations about quelling an independence movement: after all, many Northerners were willing to let the South have its independence. Besides, Lincoln had no constitutional power to abolish slavery: he knew it. and he knew everyone else knew it. He could justify it only as a punitive measure of expropriation against what he chose to define as insurrection. Legally, he wasn't abolishing slavery; merely putting down a rebellion. Slaves in the Union states remained slaves.

Lord Palmerston, the British Prime Minister, observed that Lincoln had freed the slaves over whom he had no authority, while not freeing those over whom he did have authority. But once the Union had conquered the South and freed slaves within the Confederacy, slavery had to go in the loyal border states too. But a constitutional amendment was required, not a mere statute, edict, or executive order.

Today, of course, Lincoln's act is treated as a feat of pure moral will, and freeing the slaves has become, in retrospect, the whole purpose of the Civil War. Of course few Northerners would have been willing to give their lives for the Union if the issue had been framed that way at the time; the South would have been allowed to secede, and slavery would have continued indefinitely. I like to think it would have been abolished by attrition before very long, but I have no way of knowing that.

The Civil War had three great results. The one we always hear about is the accidental one of abolishing slavery. The other two were the deaths of more than a half million young men, which is sometimes mentioned as a sort of regrettable detail, and the subversion of constitutional restraints on Union power, which is rarely mentioned at all, since it was precisely the tear of consolidated government — the kind we now rake for granted — that led the Southern states to secede.

I often think of the wonderful exchange between General Burgoyne and Major Swindon that concludes Bernard Shaw's witty play about the American Revolution, *The Devil's Disciple*. When Burgoyne remarks acidly that Britain is about to lose her American colonies because of the folly of a single British minister. the flustered Swindon asks: "But

what will history say?" Burgoyne, ever the suave ironist, replies: "History, sir, will tell lies, as usual."

Here's to the Losers

I have a temperamental sympathy for lost causes, or at least a passionate curiosity about them. I can't stand the "progressive" attitude that in nearly all the great controversies of history, remote and recent, the right side won. I always want to know what the losing side had to say for itself. History, notoriously, is written by the victorious side; and usually in such a way as to provoke the question whey there could ever have been any other side. Even if the winning side was always right, why did some people oppose it?

Why was there an Inquisition? Why was there slavery? Why did some people vote against ratifying the Constitution? why was there a Confederacy? Whey were there "isolationists"? All these causes are so discredited in modern rhetoric that it remains to be explained why opposition to them wasn't as unanimous in their own time as it is in ours. And it seems to me a kind of bigotry to assume that there was never anything to be said in their favor — as if, had we been there, we'd have naturally been on what is now assumed to have been the "right" side.

The Imperial Theme

The United States isn't just a republic. In fact it's not at all the little federal republic it used to be. It's an empire, an immense concentration of power, overly complicated and overextended, with no clear purpose, rules, or rationale. It undertakes vast new commitments at home and abroad even as it sinks beneath a $5 trillion debt it lacks the will and resources to deal with. Americans don't like the word "empire," so they resist facing the obvious.

Clinton himself is a reluctant imperialist. So are most Americans. In fact there is little domestic support and even less enthusiasm for the Bosnian mission. None of the major Democratic constituencies — labor, Jews, blacks, feminists, teachers, homosexuals — is wholeheartedly behind it. The military is deeply skeptical. Clinton has more conservative and neoconservative than liberal support for this adventure, which isn't saying much. Every congressman reports passionate and almost unanimous opposition from his own district. Our young president knows that he is courting political disaster, even if only a handful of American soldiers die in Bosnia.

But Clinton is trapped. He feels he has no choice. Unless the United States gets into the act in Bosnia, along with its Western European "allies," it will forfeit its "leadership" in both the United Nations and the "NATO alliance." But how can there be an "alliance" without a common threat, or a common enemy? Thereby hangs a tale.

The historian Stephen Ambrose speaks (approvingly) of America's "rise to globalism" during and after World War II. "Globalism" is one of several euphemisms for empire; it would sound silly to speak of Belgium's or Singapore's "rise to globalism," however much their engagements with the outside world may have widened. It's assumed that "world leadership" is an American duty and prerogative. Only in America is "isolationism" deemed a sin; when Russia threw off Communism and turned inward, in fact, the same Americans who would lament a similar mining inward at home applauded it there. Now the United States is, as Ben Wattenberg crowed, the world's first "omnipower." Its "sphere of influence" is not even a mere hemisphere, but the whole sphere — the great globe itself. This after generations of accusing Germany, Japan, the Soviet Union, and Communist China of seeking "world domination."

Gore Vidal has said that the Civil War was America's Iliad. That was once true, but World War II has displaced the Civil War, making it seem like a local skirmish. World War II was vaster, far better recorded (which keeps it still relatively immediate), and more ideologically seminal. Even conservatives now feel they have to make their obeisances to the official mythology of that war. For Americans in our time, history virtually begins with that war and is centered around it in the same way the ancient Greeks and Romans thought history was begun and forever shaped by the Trojan War. World War II not only shaped our world but provided it with its most basic lessons, such as "the lesson of Munich" and "the lessons of the Holocaust."

The correct lesson is being missed. The United States under Franklin Roosevelt was remade on the European model of the centralized state. The great old "isolationist" critics of the New Deal, including John Flynn and Garet Garrett, saw clearly that the New Deal was not the opposite of fascism but its counterpart; that domestic centralization would be easily consummated under wartime conditions; and that the postwar settlement was a dual US-Soviet imperialism (reified in the United Nations), which quickly split into rival empires.

The conversion of the United States into a radically different system required all sorts of hypocrisies. These began with the Nuremberg Trials, in which mass murderers were tried for mass murder by mass murderers, all of whom had made ruthless war on civilians. At home, the US Government was forced to "reinterpret" the Constitution, not as something it had to obey, but as something it had to *enforce* — against the very states and citizens whose

reserved powers and rights were underlined by the most important articles of the Bill of Rights, the Ninth and Tenth Amendments, both of which became dead letters.

In an odd way all this has made federalism global just as it has ceased to be national. The Constitution is defunct at home, but something like the original constitutional system obtains abroad. Other countries have the same relation to Washington the "several states" used to have. They are allowed to govern themselves internally, provided they adhere to the union. (It's doubtful that outright secession would be tolerated.) Of course even here there are exceptions: South Africa's apartheid laws became an excuse for intervention, just as "civil rights" became the excuse for Washington to violate the reserved powers of the states.

But in general, US power over other countries is so far confined to external matters. As in Kuwait, the United States is in Bosnia on an imperial mission — to define and guarantee borders.

Clinton has won support for the Bosnian mission in quarters where he is usually opposed with contempt. Many neoconservatives, who want the United States to play an imperial role for Israel's sake, are backing him. The *Weekly Standard*, Rupert Murdoch's new magazine, is squarely behind him. So is most of the *Commentary* crowd. So is William Safire. So is *The Wall Street Journal*, which in a single editorial denounced "head-in-the-sand isolationism," "beer-belly isolationism," and "hell-no-we-won't-go isolationism" — never acknowledging the principled "neutrality" among the "belligerents of Europe" that guided Washington, Jefferson, and most of the founding fathers, who feared what they called "the poison of foreign influence" to which republics are especially vulnerable. (They argued that a monarch, unlike an elected politician, has no natural motive to sell out his country's interests.)

But other Zionists and neoconservatives, such as Charles Krauthammer and Abe Rosenthal, strongly oppose the mission, if only because it may drain imperial resources and popular support they'd rather reserve for future occasions when Israel's interests may be more nearly touched.

There was a time when the US empire could be sustained. It may even have been profitable. After World War II, the United States was the only major country that wasn't devastated. Its domestic institutions and moral traditions were still solid. Washington wasn't yet consuming most of its wealth. Taxes were low; incomes were soaring. The welfare state was relatively small. Christian standards of conduct could be presumed, in private life and in public. Most Americans could feel that their government was on their side and that this meant that they were free. The white birth rate was high. The dollar was strong. Crime wasn't a worry.

If you're old enough, you can amaze yourself by simply remembering how high national morale was in those days. People didn't fret about what their government was doing, because everything was going so well. There were still deep anxieties — the fear left over from the Depression, the new fear of Communism and nuclear war — but Americans believed in their future. The few things liberalism asked in the way of welfare payments and civil fights seemed like reasonable concessions for a rich majority to make to the less favored. Federal spending was in the tens of billions. Only a few right-wing Cassandras warned of organic trouble ahead, arising not from foreign threats, but from the principles that were taking root within the governing system and the ruling elites.

How times have changed. Americans no longer feel much hope for their future, and they have accordingly ceased to feel that they profit by their country's imperial role, any more than they feel that they are the beneficiaries of the welfare state. The empire is inseparable from the welfare state, and they are tired of paying for both.

Given a welfare state that supports even *illegal* aliens, we are headed for all kinds of trouble. We have a regime that, apart from being anti-white and anti-Christian, subverts family morality, crime control, private property, economic sanity, and every other bulwark against social chaos. The marriage of liberalism and empire may be the most potent recipe for disaster ever devised.

Inheriting the Future

"There is an iron law in history: the future belongs to the fertile. Just as the clan-centered, child-rich barbarian tribes ... swept away the sensuous and sterile Western Roman Empire, so shall new barbarians arise. Barring religious renewal ... the fate of the European Community is already written: The heirs to the continent will be ... the Muslims, the Asians, the Africans — who have been brought in to clean up after their hosts. With fertility levels three to four times that of their neighbors ... What remains of the splendor and wealth of Europe will probably be theirs by the mid-21st century. In other words, forget the 'new politics' of the Tony Blairs; bet on the Taliban."

— Allan Carlson, "An Elegy for the Free Sexual World," *Family in America*, July 1999.

Review

Flawed Documentary of Execution Expert

Mr. Death: The Rise and Fall of Fred A. Leuchter, Jr. (1999) Genre: Documentary film. Length: 1 hr. 31 min. MPAA Rating: "PG-13" (www.mrdeath.net). Starring: Fred A. Leuchter, Jr., David Irving, James Roth, Shelley Shapiro, Suzanne Tabasky, Robert-Jan Van Pelt, Ernst Zündel. Director: Errol Morris (www.errolmorris.com). Producers: Dorothy Aufiero, David Collins, Michael Williams. Released by: Lions Gate Films.

Reviewed by Greg Raven

"Mr. Death" is a stylized documentary that deals with the life and work of Fred A. Leuchter, Jr., a US Federal Court qualified expert in execution technology. On the basis of his qualifications, in 1988 Leuchter was commissioned by German-Canadian publisher Ernst Zündel to conduct the first thorough forensic examination of the alleged Nazi gas chambers at Auschwitz and Birkenau in Poland. After Leuchter testified that the alleged facilities were not — and could not have been — used for mass extermination, Jewish activists ruined his life. (See Winter 1992 *Journal,* pp. 421-492)

Even though director Errol Morris is known for his portrayals of eccentrics ("Stairway to Heaven," "Fast, Cheap & Out of Control," "The Thin Blue Line," and "Gates of Heaven"), his choice of Leuchter as a subject may seem odd, considering that Morris is Jewish and claims to have lost relatives in the Holocaust, while Jewish groups have attempted to portray Leuchter as a dangerous anti-Semite.

Leuchter's Background

During the opening credits, Leuchter sits in what appears to be an oversized bird cage, which rises from the floor amidst arcing bolts of electricity. From this jarring beginning, "Mr. Death" settles down to allow its subject to retrace the path he took in becoming America's only execution hardware specialist. Leuchter recounts how he grew up around prisons, prison employees and convicts, the result of going to work with his father (a corrections officer for Massachusetts). It quickly becomes apparent that Morris has a gift for combining interviews and new footage (typically seen in documentaries) with contemporaneous images, recreations, and other clips, to make fluid montages that are striking in their impact.

As Leuchter explains, he became involved in the manufacture of execution equipment out of concern with the deplorable condition of the hardware found in most of the state's prisons, "which generally results in torture prior to death."

> A number of years ago, I was asked by a state to look at their electric chair. I was surprised at the condition of the equipment and I indicated to them what changes should be made to bring the equipment up to the point of doing a humane execution.

His first job was refurbishing an electric chair for the state of Tennessee. This led to jobs for other state prisons in a sequence Leuchter acknowledges defies logic:

> What lethal injection has to do with electrocution is beyond me.... Simply because I'm capable of building an electric chair, doesn't mean I'm capable of building a lethal injection machine; they're two totally different concepts.... Essentially the states talk with each other.... The reasoning here is that I built helmets for electric chairs, so now I could build lethal injection machines. I now build lethal injection machines, so I'm now competent to build a gallows. And since I'm building gallows, I'm also competent to work on gas chambers because I've done all of the other three. And what really makes you competent is the fact that you have the necessary background, you do the investigation, you find out what the problem is and you solve it.

Throughout the 30 or so minutes required to establish Leuchter's credentials and work history, interruptions are few and minor: most of the time, Morris trains his camera on Leuchter in close-up, letting Leuchter tell his story almost alone. This changes radically, however, in the segments that follow.

The *Leuchter Report*

In Toronto, Ernst Zündel was being tried under the little-used "false news" law for publishing *Did Six Million Really Die?,* a booklet by British author Richard Harwood that disputes Holocaust extermination stories, including claims of mass killings in Nazi gas chambers. French revisionist Robert Faurisson urged Zündel to have an acknowledged American gas chamber expert conduct a forensic examination of the alleged Nazi gas chambers,

which at that time had never been done (See Robert Faurisson, "The Zündel Trials [1985 and 1988]," Winter 1988 *Journal*, pp. 417-431). In the film, Zündel explains, "You can't open up the telephone book and say gas, and then chamber, and then experts, and out come ten Fred Leuchters. No. There's nobody. Fred Leuchter was our only hope." Leuchter concurs:

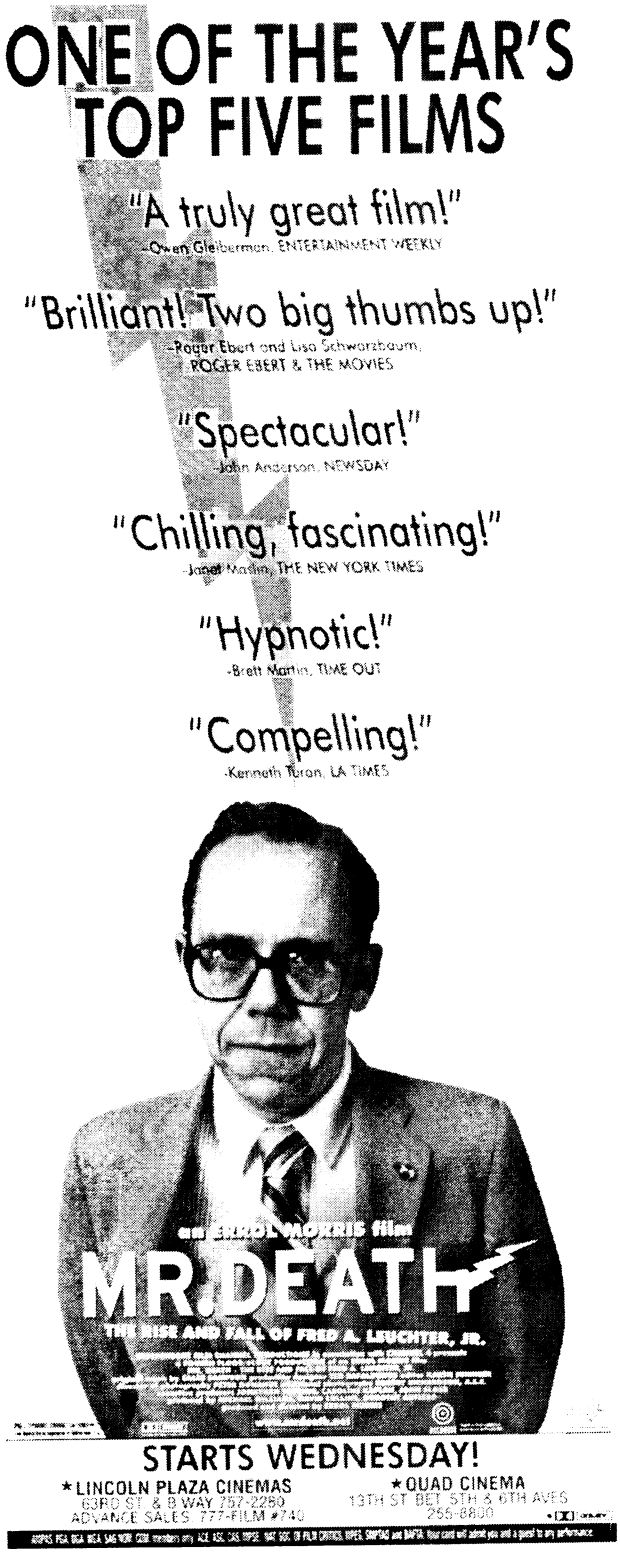
> I testified in Canada for two reasons: First, the trial was an issue of freedom of speech and freedom of belief. As an American, one who supports the Bill of Rights, I believe that Mr. Zündel has the right to believe and say what he chooses. I have this right in the United States.
>
> Secondly, Mr. Zündel was not on trial for a misdemeanor. This was a major felony. He could have faced up to 25 *[sic]* years in prison for printing a document stating that there were no gas chambers at Auschwitz. I believe that any man, no matter what he's done, has a right to a fair trial, and the best possible defense that he can muster.
>
> I, unfortunately, was the only expert in the world who could provide that defense. There was no one else.

Morris artistically intercuts footage taken by Zündel's videographer of Leuchter's visit to Auschwitz and Birkenau, with his own recreations of Leuchter gathering samples at various sites alleged to have been Nazi gas chambers. Leuchter says, "I was taught that they had gas executions there."

> I expected to see facilities that could have been used as gas chambers. I expected to see areas that were explosion-proof. I expected to see areas that were leak-proof. There have to be holes in walls or areas where they had exhaust fans and pipes. There has to be something to remove the gas after it has been put into the room. There has to be some kind of a device to heat the chalk pellets and sublimate the gas to get it to go into the air. These things didn't exist ... Whether or not these facilities were used for gas execution, that's not a mystery; I don't believe they were, because in my best engineering opinion I don't think they could've been. It's a tough job, to execute several hundred people at once. We have a hard job executing one man. I think it'd be easier to shoot them or hang them ... I did everything possible to substantiate and prove the existence of the gas chambers, and I was unable to.

Tests performed on Leuchter's samples by a prestigious US laboratory revealed there were almost no traces of cyanide compounds in the concrete, bricks, and mortar of the alleged gas chambers.

Leuchter presented his engineering and chemi-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"Mr. Death" was first released to the general public in New York and Los Angeles in December 1999 and January 2000. This ad appeared in *The New York Times*.

Errol Morris

cal findings to the Toronto court in 1988, causing an immediate sensation. Zündel quickly published an abridged version of Leuchter's detailed forensic study as the *Leuchter Report*. Since then, it has been translated into dozens of languages, with hundreds of thousands of copies circulated world wide. (The *Leuchter Report* is available from the IHR for $17.00 postpaid, and on the Institute's web site at http://www.ihr.org/books/leuchter/.)

Best-selling British historian David Irving was so impressed by Leuchter's findings that he agreed to testify on Zündel's behalf. While Irving disparages Leuchter personally on film in a variety of ways, he does acknowledge:

> He came back with these earth-shattering results. The big point: there is no significant residue of cyanide in the brickwork. That's what converted me. When I read that in the report in the courtroom in Toronto, I became a hard-core disbeliever.

The Attacks Begin

In an attempt to discredit Leuchter's competence and findings, Morris juxtaposes architect Robert-Jan van Pelt, and chemist James Roth. Van Pelt teaches cultural history and architecture at the University of Waterloo, Canada, has written a book about Auschwitz, and has submitted a lengthy expert opinion about the Holocaust and other matters on behalf of anti-revisionist author Deborah Lipstadt in Irving's lawsuit against her in London. (See Irving's opening statement to the court elsewhere in this issue.) Roth, formerly a professor of chemistry at Cornell University, was laboratory manager of Alpha Analytical Laboratories, where Leuchter had his samples assayed. Conspicuously absent are researchers who have independently verified Leuchter's findings, such as Germar Rudolf, formerly of the prestigious Max Planck Institute, and Walter Lüftl, a court-recognized expert engineer in Austria, head of a large engineering firm, and formerly president of the Austrian Engineer's Chamber. (See "The Lüftl Report," Winter 1992 *Journal*, pp. 391-420. A summary edition of *The Rudolf Report* is available from the IHR for $9.00 postpaid.)

Morris gratuitously includes Jewish activists Shelly Shapiro, director of the Holocaust Survivors and Friends Education Center, and Adjunct Professor at the University of Albany School of Education, and Suzanne Tabasky, founding member of the Malden Holocaust Commission. Neither has any competence in the field of execution technology, forensic science, or chemistry; they appear only to disparage Leuchter's character.

Robert-Jan van Pelt leads off the barrage by dismissing Leuchter as a "fool" who is "no Sherlock Holmes," a taste of what's to come from others. Van Pelt claims to have painstakingly retraced Leuchter's steps in collecting samples at Auschwitz and Birkenau, and belittles Leuchter for not visiting the Auschwitz Museum archives, where van Pelt claims there exists a "concentration of evidence" for gassings. Morris shows van Pelt handling blueprints in the archives, but their contents are never revealed to the viewer.

Perhaps more damaging are the remarks of James Roth. Although he has never been to Auschwitz or Birkenau, he is portrayed as someone with an expertise greater than Leuchter's. At the 1988 trial of Zündel, Roth's testimony explicitly supported Leuchter's methodology in collecting samples. However, in "Mr. Death," Roth states:

> I don't think the Leuchter results have any meaning.... Hindsight being 20/20, the test was not the correct one to have been used for the analysis. He presented us with rock samples anywhere from the size of your thumb up to half

the size of your fist.... You have to look at what happens to cyanide when it reacts with a wall. Where does it go? How far does it go? Cyanide is a surface reaction, it's probably not going to penetrate more than 10 microns. A human hair is 100 microns in diameter. Crush this sample up. I have just diluted that sample ten thousand, a hundred thousand times. If you are gonna go look for it you are going to look on the surface only. There's no reason to go deep because it is not going to be there.

Which was the exposed surface? I didn't have any idea. That's like analyzing paint on a wall, by analyzing the timber that's behind it. If they go in with blinkers on, they will see what they want to see. What was he really trying to do? What was he trying to prove?

The viewer is left to decide if Leuchter was the best person to conduct a forensic examination of the alleged gas chambers, or if he has been miscast all his adult life by people assuming he had skills in one area based on past performance in another area.

Morris intersperses Shapiro's and Tabasky's denigrating commentary among what should properly be a scientific discussion. At one point, for example, Shapiro appears on screen and abruptly declares, "The man is an anti-Semite. There are hate-mongers in this country, and he's one of them." Nothing in Leuchter's manner, tone, or utterances lends any credence to that charge. To leave no doubt as to who "they" are, Morris shows Leuchter addressing the Ninth IHR Conference in 1989, and a meeting in Germany. (Videos of all of Leuchter's IHR conference presentations are available from the IHR.) Morris fails to inform the viewer that Leuchter subsequently was arrested and for months kept in "investigative detention" in Germany because of his findings, or that Leuchter was arrested in Britain and subsequently expelled for the same reason, or that the man shown standing next to Leuchter at the meeting in Germany, Günter Deckert, himself was sentenced to one year imprisonment and had to pay a fine merely for translating Leuchter's remarks. (See "Political Leader Punished," July-August 1993 *Journal*, p. 26.)

Not until some time later does Morris give Leuchter the chance to say:

> Of course I'm not an anti-Semite. I have a lot of friends that are Jewish. I've lost Jewish friends, too, because of what's happened. I bear no ill will to any Jews any place, whether they're in the United States or abroad. I bear a great deal of ill will to those people that have come after me, those people who have persecuted and prosecuted me, but that's got nothing to do with them being Jewish. That only has to do with the fact that they've been interfering with my right to live, think, breathe, and earn a living.... They've expressed their unquestioned intent of destroying me simply because I testified in Canada, not because I have any other affiliation with any anti-Semitic organization, not because I'm affiliated with any Nazi or neo-Nazi organization.

Fred Leuchter in a scene from "Mr. Death."

Jewish activists embarked on a relentless campaign of defamation against Leuchter, going so far as to lodge a complaint with the state of Massachusetts that he was practicing engineering without a license. Wardens around the United States received a letter, warning them not to do business with Leuchter. He lost his livelihood, his wife, his car (twice), and eventually had to work anonymously in another state in menial jobs just to feed himself.

Toward the end of the film, Morris asks Leuchter, "Have you ever thought that you might be wrong, or do you think that you could make a mistake?" Leuchter replies:

> No, I'm past that. When I attempted to turn those facilities into gas execution facilities and was unable to, I made a decision at that point that I wasn't wrong. And perhaps that's why I did it. At least it cleared my mind, so I know that I left no stone unturned. I did everything possible to substantiate and prove the existence of the gas chambers, and I was unable to.

Morris seems unconcerned that Jewish activists

have ruined Leuchter's life and career for alleged thought crimes, and that by slanting his film to alter the viewer's perception of Leuchter, he is participating in the ongoing attempts to destroy Leuchter.

Shabby Treatment

Leuchter comes across just as straightforward and guileless on film as he is in real life. As a result, some viewers of earlier versions at the Sundance Festival, the Toronto Film Festival and Harvard University began to question the Holocaust extermination stories they'd been told, while others suspected that Morris himself might have been converted to Holocaust revisionism. At the eleventh hour, Morris re-edited the film in an effort to emphasize his anti-revisionist point of view. Character assassination aside, the question remains as to whether or not Leuchter's findings regarding the alleged Nazi gas chambers at Auschwitz and Birkenau are correct.

Van Pelt

Perhaps in response to Holocaust revisionists, some anti-revisionists today are attempting to minimize the role of gas chambers in the Holocaust. Van Pelt is not among them. He tells the viewer:

> Crematorium II is the most lethal building of Auschwitz. In the 2500 square feet of this one room, more people lost their lives than any other place on this planet. 500,000 people were killed.

In this short statement, van Pelt makes two errors. First, crematory building *(Krema)* II is not at Auschwitz, but rather at Birkenau. Second, *Krema* II is not comprised of one room of 2500 square feet, but rather of many rooms. The "one room" to which van Pelt refers is in one of the two large underground areas attached to the crematory building, which are designated on every known contemporaneous drawing and blueprint as a morgue *[Leichenkeller],* which may explain why Morris and van Pelt did not show them on screen.

If we assume that 2500 persons were packed into this space (that is, one person per square foot, which is extremely tight), there would have been 200 mass gassings in the 623 days *Krema* II was in operation (March 15, 1943, through November 27, 1944), or a minimum of roughly one mass gassing every three days in this one building alone. (Looser packing of victims would require even more frequent gassings.) In support of his belief in this fantastic level of homicidal activity, van Pelt offers four pieces of evidence: a letter requesting "gas detectors" for the crematory building, a letter referring to heating and ventilation in the alleged gas chambers, a letter referring to an order for a gas-tight door with a peep hole, and a letter in which the word *Vergasungskeller* (carburetion cellar) is underlined in red pencil. Although he mentions them elsewhere in the film as being readily available, van Pelt does not show any devices for introducing Zyklon-B into the alleged gas chambers. He also goes on record to say, "Every year, remains of human beings are found. Bones, teeth. The earth doesn't rest." He does not, however, produce any for the film, nor inform the viewer where these remains are located.

Van Pelt's first document, and thus presumably the strongest evidence in support of his claim that there were hundreds of thousands of gassing victims, is a telegram dated February 26, 1943, to the Topf company in Erfurt from SS Untersturmführer (second lieutenant) Pollok, "Send immediately ten gas detectors *[Gasprüfer].* Invoice us later."

Van Pelt assumes that any mention of gas detectors implies the existence of a gas chamber in which they would be used. However, even one of van Pelt's collaborators, French anti-revisionist Jean-Claude Pressac, allowed that there might be a non-sinister use for these gas detectors. Without showing what type of gas detectors these were, and how and where they were used, this document is useless. (See Arthur R. Butz. "Gas Detectors in Auschwitz Crematory II," Sept.-Oct. 1997 *Journal,* pp. 24-30.)

Van Pelt's second document is a letter dated March 6, 1943, from camp architect SS Hauptsturmführer (captain) Karl Bischoff, who van Pelt believes was the person responsible for deciding to convert the morgue in Birkenau crematory building II into a homicidal gas chamber. Regarding *Kremas* II and III, Bischoff writes:

> In accordance with your suggestion, Cellar I should be preheated. At the same time we would ask you to send an additional quotation for the modification of the air extraction installation in the undressing room.

Van Pelt's thinking is no doubt along the lines of Pressac, who believes that there is no need for a heater in a morgue, and that the ventilation system mentioned would be able to clear away residual gasses after a mass execution. However, heating a morgue would be highly desirable to prevent freezing during the winter, and the modified ventilation system alluded to has no more than the capacity normally specified for morgues in Germany at that time, and van Pelt fails to tell the viewer that it was never installed. The mention of a preheater and ventilation system prove the existence of a homicidal gas chamber only if one first assumes the existence of such a gas chamber. (See Carlo Mattogno, "The Crematories of Auschwitz: A Critique of Jean-Claude Pressac," Nov.-Dec. 1994 *Journal*, pp. 34-42.)

Van Pelt's third piece of evidence against Leuchter is a letter dated March 31, 1943, also from Bischoff, that states in part:

> Three gas tight doors have been completed. We remind you of an additional order for the gas door from *Krematorium* III. This must be made with a spy-hole, with double 8 millimeter glass. This order is particularly urgent.

Morris illustrates this point by zooming in on the peep hole on the outside of a metal gas-tight door. Remarkably, however, the zoom "continues" through the peephole using special effects, and the viewer finds himself inside the alleged gas chamber at the Auschwitz main camp, not *Krema* III at Birkenau. Not only has it now been authoritatively acknowledged (even by van Pelt) that the alleged gas chamber at the Auschwitz main camp is not in its original state, contrary to claims made for many years, but additionally none of the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz or Birkenau has such a door. Therefore, in order to prove van Pelt's point, Morris (who traveled to Auschwitz and Birkenau during the making of this film) *invents a gas chamber with a gas-tight door.* Because Van Pelt neglects to tell us anything about this door, it may well have been for a delousing chamber, like the air-tight door on display at the US Holocaust Museum, or for an air raid shelter, as has been proposed by Samuel Crowell. (See "Wartime Germany's Anti-Gas Air Raid Shelters: A Refutation of Pressac's 'Criminal Traces'," July-August 1999 *Journal*, pp. 7-30.)

Van Pelt's penultimate piece of evidence to refute Leuchter is a single underlined word, used once in one German wartime document. Van Pelt interprets it as a reference to mass gassings of Jews:

> There was a code. The Germans had a coded language. You never talk about extermination, you always talk about "special action," or "special treatment." There was a very clear policy; words like gas chamber would not be used. The letter of Bischoff of the 29th of January [1943], is a kind of exception in this, because it is a letter which is written by a person who manages the whole operation, and who himself had established a policy that you would never use the word "gas chamber." Somebody in the architecture office underlined the word *Vergasungskeller*, literally "gassing basement," and put on top a note: "SS Untersturmführer [second lieutenant] Kirschneck" exclamation mark. Which means, Kirschneck should be informed about this slip. And it doesn't occur after that. The Nazis were the first Holocaust deniers. Because they denied to themselves that it's happening.

It is worth noting that van Pelt has pulled this one word out of a document without quoting the document in full. This is unfortunate because the two sentences to which he refers tell us a great deal. These sentences read:

> The formwork for the reinforced concrete ceiling of the mortuary cellar *[Leichenkeller]* could not yet be removed on account of the frost. This is, however, unimportant, as the *Vergasungskeller* [gassing cellar] can be used for this purpose ...

Here is confirmation that preheating might well be needed in an underground morgue in an area of bitterly cold winters. As for the word itself, even if *Vergasungskeller* could be interpreted to mean "gassing basement" (the German word for gas chamber is *gaskammer*), this definition raises more questions than it answers. There are no other documents, including blueprints, that make reference to a *Vergasungskeller,* which means that 1) no one knows for certain what is meant by this term, and 2) no one knows where it was located. Van Pelt concludes that this term refers to an unspecified room somewhere in the crematory building explicitly designated for mass executions, rather than asking if perhaps this "slip" by the very person who supposedly forbade the use of this word simply is nothing more than the use of the wrong terminology in referring to some other location, which would also explain why the term was never used again, and why the "gassing basement" does not appear on the drawings for the crematory building. (See Arthur R. Butz, "The Nagging 'Gassing Cellar' Problem," July-August 1997 *Journal*, pp. 20-23.) One wonders if van Pelt believes that more than a million persons were gassed to death at Auschwitz and Birkenau on the basis of these paltry items.

Van Pelt offers nothing even approaching a scientific test, let alone a thorough forensic investigation of the weapon of the crime — the Nazi gas chamber — despite having better resources and complete access to premises believed by van Pelt to have been the site of at least 200 mass homicidal gassings. According to the credits at the end of the film, there were more than two dozen other persons in the Morris entourage who could have helped van Pelt take samples and measurements. (Morris has stated elsewhere that he took a crew of 50 to Poland.) Van Pelt claims to have spared no expense in retracing Leuchter's steps, and was intimately familiar with the methodology used. Throughout the section on Auschwitz, there are numerous recreations of samples being chipped away with a hammer and chisel.

Yet, with all of these resources, with all the access, with all the time, with all the personnel, with all the knowledge about Leuchter's supposed errors, van Pelt (and Morris) failed to collect sam-

ples of their own for James Roth to test (putting his newly-acquired 20/20 hindsight to good use). Instead, van Pelt attacks Leuchter as an ignoramus and a sacrilegious fool for desecrating what van Pelt calls the "holy of holies": Auschwitz. This is not a scientist or dispassionate researcher talking, this is a True Believer wrestling with a heretic.

Van Pelt gets so carried away with his polemics against Leuchter that he makes an astonishing statement:

> Leuchter has said a number of times that the place was untouched. I mean, you just open your eyes, you realize that this is utter nonsense.... Where are all the bricks of the crematoria?... I think I know where they are. The real places to sample are the farmhouses to the west of the crematoria, the farmhouses where people are living, children are playing, dogs are barking.

While van Pelt is saying this, the camera shows him walking along a low brick wall amid the ruins of a crematory building at Birkenau, and then cuts to brick homes apparently nearby. Many of the crematory building bricks may have been taken elsewhere, and Germar Rudolf established that the foundation walls now visible at the former locations of crematory buildings IV and V were built after the war. Even so, there still remain concrete, bricks and mortar at the alleged gas chamber room of crematory building II, much of which has been protected from the elements by the collapsed roof. As for the bricks from the other crematory buildings, Van Pelt suggests he might know where they are, criticizing Leuchter in passing for not testing them (thus implicitly acknowledging that Leuchter's fundamental approach was correct), and *still* he doesn't call for a chemical test of the building materials used in the alleged gas chambers.

Roth

Several reviewers of "Mr. Death" have written that James Roth single-handedly demolishes Leuchter's findings. This is based on the fact that the chemical analysis portion of the *Leuchter Report* was done by Roth's company, and on the mistaken assumption that the *Report* deals only (or primarily) with chemical testing for cyanide residues in the alleged gas chambers. Clearly, none of these reviewers has compared Roth's critical remarks in "Mr. Death" against statements he made under oath in 1988 in Toronto. For example, in the film Roth states:

> You have to look at what happens to cyanide when it reacts with a wall. Where does it go? How far does it go? Cyanide is a surface reaction, it's probably not going to penetrate more than 10 microns. A human hair is 100 microns in diameter.

On the stand in Toronto, however, Roth was shown a color photograph of the blue staining on the wall of hydrogen cyanide (HCN) Delousing Facility No. 1 at Birkenau, from which Leuchter had taken his "control" sample. He indicated that the color was what is commonly referred to as "Prussian blue" (also known as ferric ferro cyanide), formed by the interaction of hydrogen cyanide with iron molecules found in the bricks. The reaction is most efficient in warm, moist environments, resulting in a very stable compound. Roth testified that Prussian blue could penetrate any porous surface, with the depth of penetration dependent on factors such as the porosity of material and available moisture. (Barbara Kulaszka's exhaustive *Report of the Evidence in the Canadian "False News" Trial of Ernst Zündel* is available from the IHR for $53.00 postpaid.)

Does crushing the samples dilute them to the point of meaninglessness? In Toronto, Roth told the court, "In other words, we're looking at an analysis of a large sample in which we took a sub sample."

In the film, Roth does not tell us how he determined that the standard operating procedure he cited in his testimony before the Court in 1988 was so flawed that it can cause a disastrous level of dilution in samples.

But only in *some* samples. On the witness stand in Toronto, Roth stated that all the samples he had tested for iron content contained essentially the same levels, and that the reactivity of the iron in each sample to HCN was similar. The control sample from the delousing chamber tested in excess of 1000 milligrams of cyanide per kilogram of sample. The next two highest samples, from alleged homicidal gas chambers, tested at 6.7 milligrams and 7.9 milligrams of cyanide per kilogram of sample, that is, less than one percent of the control sample. Roth testified that if each "gas chamber" sample had been subjected repeatedly to HCN, Prussian blue should have formed.

Roth now would have us believe that dilution from crushing the samples somehow occurred only in the 30 brick, mortar, and concrete samples taken from the alleged gassing facilities, while the one sample that was not diluted was the control sample from the delousing facility. Clearly, the odds against this happening by chance are astronomical.

It is also worth pointing out that paint on the wall typically does not penetrate to the timbers behind the wall, and that Roth knows (or should know, from photos of the delousing chamber at Birkenau) that the blue staining can in some instances penetrate completely through walls constructed of the type of brick used at Birkenau. Even in cases where blue staining is not visible, Roth tes-

tified in Toronto, "Chemically, you can see a lot more than what you visually see." Perhaps in the film Roth is actually referring to the crushing power of the Jewish lobby, an object lesson which has for him turned Leuchter's samples meaningless.

Not True to his Art

Reviewers of "Mr. Death" have picked up on Morris' description that the film is a look at human hubris. This is accurate as far as it goes, but the hubris is not Leuchter's, but Morris'.

Like so many before him, Morris is a victim of the hubris of believing that he had not been lied to about the Holocaust, and that he knows the facts better than Leuchter, or any other skeptic. In front of the camera, however, far from coming off as some kind of nut, Fred Leuchter ably enunciated the revisionist position simply and persuasively in a way that Morris' editing could not mitigate. Initially unaware of what had taken on, Morris was caught off-guard by the logic, common sense, and verifiability of Leuchter's findings, and created a film that was too dangerous to release. Rather than admit to being flummoxed, however, he attempted to salvage his pride and protect the extermination myth at Leuchter's expense. The resulting film is neither as powerful nor as thought-provoking as it started out to be. "Mr. Death" will not change many minds, let alone provide the spark that at long last ignites a dispassionate look at Holocaust extermination claims.

Still, it is a step forward for historical awareness that forensic testing of the alleged gas chambers at Auschwitz is the subject of a feature-length film, dozens of articles and film reviews. As if that is not enough, anyone with the price of a movie ticket can see and hear the quiet, unassuming man who helped cause a revolution in Holocaust historiography: Fred Leuchter.

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A Warning from an American Historian

"... Today we must face the discouraging prospect that we all, teachers and pupils alike, have lost much of what this earlier generation possessed, the priceless asset of a shared culture ... Many of the young practitioners of our craft, and those who are still apprentices, are products of lower middle-class or foreign origins, and their emotions not infrequently get in the way of historical reconstructions. They find themselves in a very real sense outsiders on our past and feel themselves shut out. This is certainly not their fault, but it is true. They have no experience to assist them, and the chasm between them and the Remote Past widens every hour ... What I fear is that the changes observant in the background and training of the present generation will make it impossible for them to communicate to and reconstruct the past for future generations."

— Carl Bridenbaugh, president of the American Historical Association, 1963. Quoted in Kevin MacDonald, *Separation and its Discontents* (1998), pp. 82-83.

Even Japan has learned what happens to those who commit sacrilege against the secular religion of the Holocaust. "Holocaust Pressure Groups Shut Down Japan's *Marco Polo* Magazine," a 30-page IHR Special Report, includes a translation of Dr. Nishioka's headline-making *Marco Polo* article, facsimile copies of numerous reports from American and Japanese English-language newspapers on the *Marco Polo* furor, a feature article from the March-April 1995 *Journal*, and more.

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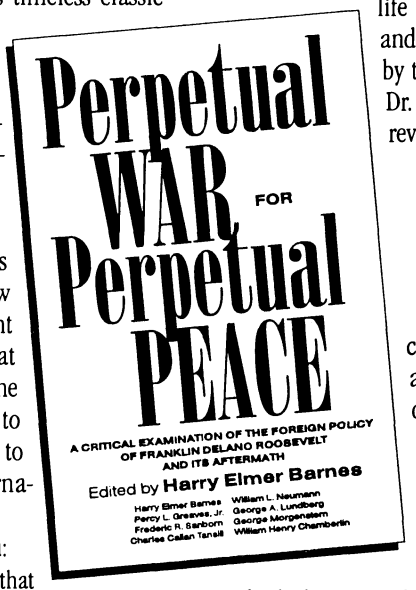

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Its republication by the Institute in 1983 was an event, and not merely because IHR's version included Harry Elmer Barnes' uncannily prophetic essay on "1984" trends in American policy and public life (considered too controversial for conservatives and anti-Communists in the early 50s). It was hailed by the international revisionist community, led by Dr. James J. Martin, the dean of living historical revisionists, who wrote:

> It is the republication of books such as *Perpetual War for Perpetual Peace* which does so much to discommode and annoy the beneficiaries of the New World Order.

Discommode and annoy the enemies of historical truth and freedom of research it did — virtually the entire stock of *Perpetual War* was destroyed in the terrorist arson attack on the Institute's offices and warehouse on the Orwellian date of July 4, 1984.

Today, the Institute for Historical Review is proud to be able to make this enduring classic available to you, and to our fellow Americans, in both the original 1953 hardbound edition, and our phoenix-like 1993 quality softbound reprint (with additional material not included in the 1953 edition). This book can silence the lies about World War II, and thus the bombs and bullets our interventionist rulers plan — for our own American troops no less than the enemy — in the Middle East, Europe, Africa, Asia, or wherever else the interventionist imperative imposed by World War II may lead us.

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Letters

Numb with Shock

Having just finished reading James Bacque's book, *Crimes and Mercies*, I am numb with shock. It is nearly impossible for me to believe what so-called fair and honest people of America and England carried out in postwar Germany. So much for my English heritage of fairness — of "playing cricket" by the rules of the game. I have been a *Journal* subscriber for years, and pray hope you continue printing the truth.

R. E.
Berkshire, England
[by e-mail]

Monty Correct About Africa?

General Bernard Montgomery, Britain's famed World War II commander, was dubious about the future of a black-ruled Africa, and concluded in a recently-revealed 1947 report that the native African "is quite incapable of developing the country himself." He also wrote, in response to a critic, that "time will show which of us is right." ("General Montgomery's 'Racist Masterplan'," March-April 1999 *Journal*, p. 33.) By any objective standard of an orderly and prosperous society, time has shown that, so far anyway, Monty was absolutely correct.

S. L.
Philadelphia, Pa.

One-Sided Revisionism?

You do good work in exposing the Holocaust hoax and Zionist myths, but I find that you do not apply your historical skepticism evenhandedly. While you carefully scrutinize baseless allegations made against fascist regimes, you uncritically repeat myths about socialist ones. A case in point is the statement, in the "From the Editor" essay (May-June 1999 *Journal*, p. 3), that "by all accounts, the victims of Stalin, America's ally, vastly outnumbered those of Hitler, America's enemy."

By whose accounts? Those of the anti-Communist Hearst newspapers or of the Hitler regime, both of which spread the hoax of a massive famine in the Ukraine in the 1930s? Surely not the accounts of the recently opened KGB files, which reveal that the number of victims of the purge trials is far fewer than had been widely claimed in the West for decades. Rightists keep shouting that Stalin killed 20 million people, and that socialism killed 100 million, but they have never given a proper accounting of these figures with real evidence, nor, does it seem, do you ask them to do so. Because they shout the same number loud enough and long enough, they are believed, just as Jews do with the infamous "six million." But while you question the latter, you don't question the former.

Your *Journal* advertisement for the IHR edition of *The Last Days of the Romanovs* tells readers: "When the news of the cold-blooded massacre of Tsar Nicholas II, his wife Alexandra, and their five children reached the outside world, decent people were horrified." Oh really? What of the many hundreds of thousands of Russian workers and peasants sent by the Tsar and his officials to perish miserably in a useless and aggressive war against Germany? What of those who starved because of the food shortages caused by that war for the glory of their dynasty? What of all those who suffered under their autocratic rule? Even if the Bolshevik regime was more cruel and oppressive then the Tsarist regime, it does not exculpate them. After all, it was their regime and their war that drove the Russian people to embrace Lenin.

"Decent people" are not horrified by the killings of the Tsar and his family. Decent people know that the Romanovs had it coming.

One-sided revisionism is as bad as suppressing historical truth.

K. W.
Phoenix, Arizona

Pure Gold

I must congratulate you for the article about the Anglo-Boer war [in the May-June 1999 *Journal*], which exposes the concentration camps in South Africa and the British propaganda lies. It is "pure gold," history writing at its best. Bravo.

Keep up your magnificent work.

V. de C.
Laval, Quebec, Canada

Gullible Tourists

Ten years ago I visited Auschwitz. It was truly a memorable hoot. The uncritical visitor "sees" what he is supposed to see.

What stunned me is the hostility of so many tourists when glaring discrepancies are pointed out to them. For instance, the "gas chamber" that is routinely shown to tourists in the Auschwitz I main camp is obviously of postwar Soviet construction.

An American visitor got visibly upset when I pointed out that each of the many suitcases that were displayed in a large pile to "prove" extermination had the owner's name and address — from every conceivable part of Europe — written in identical writing and in the same white paint. I said that this suggests that millions of innocent victims, prior to deportation, just happened to have the foresight to inscribe their names and addresses in the same hand-

writing, and with the same marking paint. This tourist — was of Polish Christian ancestry — got quite angry, not for having been deceived, but at me for having the bad taste to bring this to her attention.

Necessary illusions, indeed.

Your web site is of continuing fascination. Please keep up the good work!

F. M.
Melbourne, Australia

Spain's Conquest of Mexico in Historical Context

Zoltán Bruckner's article, "For a Balanced History of the American Indian" (March-April 1999 *Journal*), is fair in principle, but his conclusions are wrong.

He writes that "certainly, the Aztecs waged brutal war against their neighbors, but they did not exterminate them. They amalgamated with their conquered neighbors, absorbing and mixing with their cultures ..." While it is true that the Aztecs did not exterminate the peoples they vanquished, they cared nothing for their integration. They imposed oppressive tribute payments, not only of goods in kind, but also of men who were sacrificed to the Aztec god Huitzilopochtli, and of young virgins for the amusement of the Aztec emperor and his warriors. If the subject peoples defaulted, even briefly, in paying tribute, they were punished severely. It was the deep resentment over this oppression that motivated many natives to join the Spanish against the Aztecs. Thus, during the siege of Tenochtitlán in 1521, more than 75,000 Tlaxcaltec warriors joined Hernán Cortés and his 900 conquistadors.

Bruckner cites selectively, and out of historical context, the cruelties of Nuño de Guzmán, as reported by Bernal Díaz del Castillo, and the quotations of Diego de Landa. During this period Spanish rule in the New World was not so much cruel as it was negligent, in conditions that were still very chaotic and unsettled. (At this time Spain itself was involved in a terrible conflict in Europe.)

When the Spanish Crown fully realized the failure of its administration in "New Spain," it was dismissed. In 1531 Vasco de Quiroga was appointed *audiencia* (governor). This distinguished priest vigorously protected the natives, enforcing, for example, the Spanish ban against slavery. His benevolent concern for the welfare and education of the Indians won him widespread affection. He also worked for their conversion to Christianity — a religion of love that, unlike the native one, did not demand human sacrifice.

The writings of Bartolomé de Las Casas, which Bruckner quotes to make his case, are not reliable. This is proven by Philip W. Powell in his book, *Tree of Hate*. In his zeal to protect the Indians, de Las Casas spread many falsehoods, even claiming that the Spanish killed 20 million (!) natives.

Bruckner seems to think that, instead of warriors, Spain should have sent to the New World delegations of anthropologists, ethologists, physicians, dentists, veterinarians, agronomists and civil engineers.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the terrible mortality of the natives during this period was due mostly to devastation by disease, especially smallpox, introduced from Europe. (Similarly, many in Europe succumbed to syphilis, which, apparently, was introduced from the New World.)

Throughout history wars and conquests — along with the transformation and even eradication of cultures — have inevitably been bloody, accompanied by the terrible cruelties of which all human beings are capable. Spaniards themselves suffered under the conquest and 700-year occupation of their country by the Arabs. To highlight cruelties by White or European peoples, as Bruckner has done, is therefore neither fair nor serious.

At the same time, it is very often wars and conflicts that bring one culture to another, promoting the social and cultural changes that are the hallmark of human progress.

Certainly Indians suffered greatly during the Spanish conquest. But it is also clear that, rather then being exterminated, they were assimilated into Spanish culture. This is manifest today in the life and culture of Mexico and the other countries of Latin America.

R. C.
Mexico City

Indians Not 'In Harmony' With Nature

In his article in the March-April 1999 *Journal*, "For a Balanced History of the American Indian," Zoltán Bruckner writes (p. 24) that "the Indian had lived in harmony with Nature for centuries, and would have continued doing so 'until the end of time' if Whites had not intervened."

This is grossly misleading, as Durward L. Allen, a historian of wildlife management, showed in *Our Wildlife Legacy* (New York: 1962), an ecological study of the interrelationship between American Indians, Whites and buffaloes (bison). Allen wrote (p. 10):

"Contrary to storybook tale, the Indian was no conservationist, except by his limitations. He stampeded whole herds over cliffs or drove them into slaughter pens. Opportunity permitting, he fired the dry prairie grass to put the masses at his mercy. Catlin [a historian of the American Indian] told of a Sioux foray in which 1,400 [buffalo] tongues were the sole booty, since the camp had abundant meat already."

Paul Grubach
Lyndhurst, Ohio

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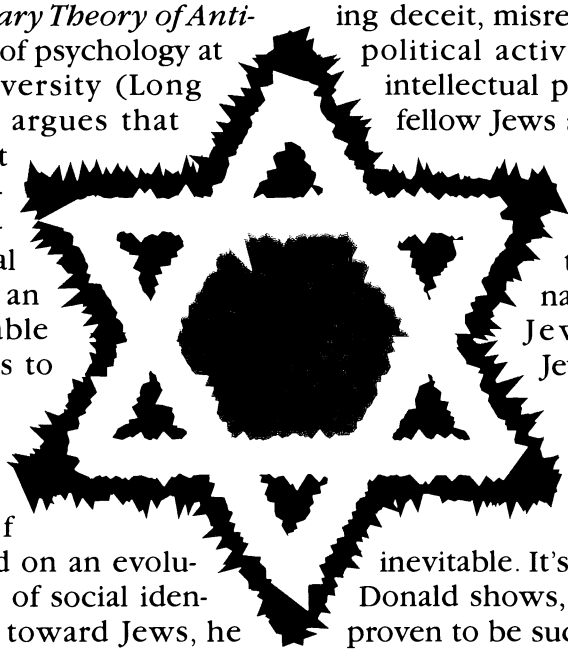

Prof. MacDonald's view of the nature and development of anti-Semitism is based on an evolutionary interpretation of social identity theory. Hostility toward Jews, he argues, has historically been heightened by resource competition between Jews and non-Jews.

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As MacDonald rigorously documents, Jews have engaged in a range of strategies to prevail in this ancient struggle, including deceit, misrepresentation, targeted political activity, and religious and intellectual propaganda directed to fellow Jews as well as to non-Jews. MacDonald details how Jews engage in stunning self-deception regarding both the nature of Jewry and non-Jewish responses to Jewry.

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